

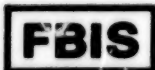
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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 254



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PARTY AND STATE

IMPLEMENTATION OF NATIONALITIES POLICY EMPHASIZED

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 22 Oct 81 p 2

[Report: "Conscientiously Implement the Party's Policy on Nationalities; Deputy Chairman Ma Tengai Reports to the 10th Session of the Standing Committee of the Autonomous Region People's Congress on Nationalities Work in Our Region"]

[Text] At the 10th Session of the Standing Committee of the Autonomous Region People's Congress, the deputy chairman of the autonomous region people's government, Ma Tengai [7456 7506 7224], delivered a report on the achievements scored and the problems encountered in our region's nationalities work since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and he submitted his views on further implementing our nationalities policy in the future.

Ma Tengai said that, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the State Council, and the autonomous region party committee during the past 2 years, governments at various levels in our region have conscientiously carried out the party's line, principles, and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and have implemented the party's policy on nationalities. This has caused pleasing changes to take place in the politics, economy, culture, and education of the areas where minority nationalities live in compact communities.

On the basis of the principles of seeking truth from facts and correcting mistakes wherever they are found, people's governments at various levels in our region have continued to rectify the problems left over by each expansion of rebel pacification operations since 1958 and to carry out arrangements for employment, compensation for the bereaved, and subsidies and relief in accordance with the varying circumstances of the victims. Further, they have improved their relationship between the governments and the masses, and have strengthened unity among the nationalities.

Guarantees have been extended with regard to the right of minority nationalities to be the masters in their own house. Today, the proportion of nationality cadres in our region has reached 13.47 percent of the total. Cadres who are of Muslim nationality now serve as chairman of the standing committee of the autonomous region people's congress and chairman of the people's government. Among the chairmen and deputy chairmen of people's congresses and among the chairmen and deputy chairmen of people's governments in the autonomous region, cadres of Muslim nationality make up 37.5 percent and 36.4 percent of the respective totals. Of cadres at division and bureau levels in these governments, those of Muslim

nationality make up 20 percent, while those who are of Muslim nationality make up 11.5 percent of the cadres at department level. Those who are of minority nationality comprise 31.2 percent of the county (district) people's deputies; 37 percent of the members of the county people's congress standing committee are of minority nationality. Members of Muslim nationality serve as county government chairmen in all of the seven counties of Guyuan, Haiyuan, Xiji, Jingyuan, Tongxin, Wuzhong, and Lingwu, where people of Muslim nationality live in compact communities. Cadres who are of Muslim nationality make up 68.6 percent of the leading groups in these counties. The autonomous region people's government also has set forth the rule that from this year on, members of the Muslim nationality shall comprise no less than 25 percent of all workers recruited. The rights of minority nationalities are thus respected and guaranteed.

Customs and habits of minority nationalities are respected. In 1980, an overall inspection of the implementation of nationalities policy was carried out across the region. On the basis of broadly propagating the party's policy on nationalities, the autonomous region people's government promulgated "Several Regulations Regarding Respect for the Customs and Habits of Minority Nationalities." Various localities in the region also solved the question of having commercial establishments and nonstaple food and food services respect the customs and habits of minority nationalities. Various localities have restored and newly built restaurants for Muslim citizens. Muslim cake and nonstaple food and beef and lamb retail departments, refreshment processing plants, cattle and sheep butcheries, and Muslim cold storages. Networks of Muslim commercial service establishments correspondingly have increased the number of their Muslim staff members.

The economy of nationality areas has been energetically developed. The autonomous region has changed the arbitrary-uniformity approach of the past in guiding economic works. In the hilly district of southern Ningxia, it has put forward the principle of "energetic planting of trees and grass, encouragement of stockraising and promotion of agriculture, taking local conditions into consideration in the overall development of agriculture, forestry, sideline enterprises and fishing" by relaxing existing economic policies, carrying out rehabilitation, reducing the peasants' burdens, and actively providing them with financial and material support. It has thus fully mobilized the enthusiasm of commune members, increased the commune members' economic income, and improved their livelihood.

National and health work for the nationalities has been reinforced. With respect to the development of education for the nationalities, the autonomous region people's government has adopted special measures. In the seven counties in southern Ningxia where people of Muslim nationality live in compact communities, one middle school for Muslim citizens was established for each county; in communes where Muslim citizens are more numerous, an elementary school for Muslim citizens was established to carry out a dormitory system; each pupil has been given aid money each month. The proportion of college, middle school, and specialty school students who are of minority nationalities recruited in the past 2 years has reached 14 percent and above. Some college-level institutions have conducted nationality preparation classes and thus created conditions for increasing the proportion of college-level students who are members of minority nationalities. At present, efforts are actively being made to set up nationality public schools where minority nationality cadres and scientific and technical talents are going to be trained. The cultural life in areas where people of minority nationalities live in compact communities

has also improved considerably. The people's government has allocated special funds to show movies without charge to the people of the countryside in the hilly areas of the south, and also to cure indigenous and chronic diseases gratis.

The policy of freedom of religious belief has been conscientiously carried out. Today, more than 1,200 Islamic temples, 1 Catholic church, and 1 Christian church, have been reopened throughout the region. The beliefs of those faithful masses are thus respected and their religious life has returned to normal. Appropriate arrangements have also been made for persons who are in the upper stratum of religious circles, and this has been warmly welcomed by persons in religious circles and the faithful masses.

Ma Tengai pointed out: Although nationalities work has been given great attention by party committees at various levels and has achieved conspicuous results, many comrades still lack a sufficient understanding of the great significance of regional autonomy for the nationalities. Leftist mistaken ideas still have not been entirely eliminated. Some comrades mistakenly think that "The Muslim and Han nationalities commonly use the Han written and spoken language, and that the Muslim nationality does not have any particular characteristics." They make no historical analysis of minority nationality cadres, always think such nationality cadres are "backward," "low in their cultural level, and inadequate in their ability," and even mistakenly regard "prescribing a proportion for nationality cadres as tantamount to resorting to local nationalism." For this reasons, more than 20 years after the establishment of the autonomous region, the number of minority nationality cadres not only has not increased but has even decreased. An overwhelming majority of existing nationality cadres are basic-level cadres, and the proportion of nationality cadres in leading organs is very low. In no small number of leading units and departments, not only are there very few leading core cadres of minority nationality and very few professional and technical talented persons of various types, but also there are not very many ordinary working personnel. Education for the nationalities has been backward, and proportions of minority nationality students in institutions of higher learning are low. Scientific and technical personnel and literary and art workers who are members of minority nationalities make up only 8 percent of the totals in the same corresponding trades. Minority nationality workers also make up only 12 percent of the total of all workers.

Some noteworthy problems have appeared in our religious work. In the main, too many temples have been built and opened. The arbitrary levying or assignment of such temple-building expenses and pomp and extravagance have increased the economic burden on the faithful masses. In some individual localities, there have even been cases where religion has interfered in politics and marriage. There have also been cases of people engaging in feudal, superstitious activities, cheating others out of their money, and harming others--all under the pretext of religion. The consequences have been very bad.

Said Ma Tengai: The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, which is of major historic significance, has made special provisions concerning the questions of improving and developing socialist nationality relations and strengthening nationality unity. The "Resolution" correctly summed up our experience in nationality work and pointed out the direction of our nationality work from now on. This is the program of our future nationality work.

In response to the policy problems and practical problems which exist in our region, we must seriously study the "Resolution," take into consideration the actual situation in our region, further sum up our historical experience, unify our understanding, clarify our policies, adopt effective measures, and solve practical problems. We must regularly carry out propaganda and education on the party's policy on nationalities among the vast ranks of cadres and masses, conduct once a year from now on an examination of how our nationalities policy is being implemented, overcome and prevent Great Han-ism and local nationalism, and correctly deal with our nationality problems. Governments at various levels, under the unified leadership of party committees at various levels, must formulate plans and measures to train and select large numbers of Muslim cadres, native cadres, and female cadres and, under similar conditions, promote minority nationality cadres on a priority basis, and boldly promote the fine middle-aged and young cadres of the Muslim nationality in order to strengthen and reinforce the leading groups of various levels. In a year or two, organs of the autonomous region's government and its various departments must be staffed with a specific number of Muslim leading cadres, and in some of these departments Muslim cadres must assume the principle leading offices. In order to develop cultural and educational enterprises in minority nationality areas, from now on we must train local teachers in a planned way, energetically raise the level of existing teachers, earnestly solve their practical difficulties, and encourage them to work with peace of mind. We must also adopt the method of signing contracts to support the hilly districts by recruiting in-service or retired teachers who have due teaching experience from the cities and river districts to teach in the hilly districts. In 1982, we must solve the [problem of] building funds for nationality public schools and set forth student recruitment plans. We must energetically develop local industries for the nationalities, support diversification, strengthen civilian trade work, guarantee production and supply operations for products especially needed by the nationality areas, and continuously improve the living standards of the minority nationalities. Governments at various levels must, on the one hand, continue to comprehensively implement the policy on freedom of religious beliefs and guarantee in a practical way the right of the masses to believe or not believe in religion, and, on the other hand, strengthen the education, patriotism, and law-abiding [spirit] of religious personnel and [strengthen the] control over religious activities, thereby rectifying certain unwholesome phenomena that have appeared in such religious activities. We hope as soon as possible to formulate "Regional Autonomy Regulations" and various individual regulations so that people's governments at various levels in the autonomous region will have something to observe in the various aspects of their work, and thereby better promote the development of nationality work in our region.

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CSO: 4005/250

PARTY AND STATE

QINGHAI RALLY ON WORK STYLE, DISCIPLINE

SK190908 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] On the morning of 18 December, the Qinghai Provincial CCP Committee sponsored a mobilization rally of provincial level organs on improving work style. Comrade Zhang Guosheng addressed the rally. In his speech, he urged the provincial level organs to set examples in improving work style, studying documents concerned, uniting with others, enhancing discipline and work enthusiasm and raising work efficiency.

The rally was held to respond to the vital call issued by the central authorities on urging the central level party, government and army organs to set examples for the organs throughout the country in improving work style and to arouse and dispose the provincial level organs to actively improve their work style. Comrade Zhao Haifeng, secretary of the provincial CCP Committee, presided over the rally and delivered a speech at the end of the rally. In his speech, he emphatically noted the need for improving work style among the provincial level organs and set forth demands for leading cadres at all levels.

In his speech, Comrade Zhang Guosheng noted: There are still many problems in the provincial level organs. Some are very serious. As Premier Zhao Ziyang noted, the major problem is that there exist excess departments, overstaffed organizations, excess administrative levels and red tape. The other problem is weak and lax leadership over work and discipline nullification. Some even disregard organizational function, refuse to execute orders and to relay orders in work. They only seek organizational preferential treatment and evade organizational disciplines. Some not only refuse to earnestly study and resolutely implement the instruction issued by the central authorities but also find fault from the instruction and criticize it arbitrarily. Some units have not eliminated bourgeois liberalism deviating from the party leadership and socialism. Moreover, many comrades have lost their revolutionary will and lack work enthusiasm and vigor.

In his speech, Comrade Zhang Guosheng noted: The provincial CCP Committee heartily urges the provincial level organs to set examples for organs throughout the province in improving work style. He also summarized the party committee's demands into the following principles: 1) It is necessary to set an example in studying the central authorities' instruction; 2) it is necessary to set an example in uniting with others and daring to struggle; 3) it is necessary to set

an example by heeding disciplines; 4) it is necessary to set an example in enhancing work spirit and vigor; and 5) it is necessary to set an example in upgrading work efficiency.

Comrade Zhang Guosheng noted: The basic way to improve work style among organs is to develop the party's fine tradition and correctly conduct criticism and self-criticism. Efforts should be made to resolutely eliminate the leftist influence and adopt a correct and comradely attitude toward the people and the work to do good deeds for others. He urged various units to vigorously improve their work style within 3 months to make rapid progress in the mental and work outlook of provincial level organs.

CSO: 4005/363

PARTY AND STATE

PEASANTS DEMOCRATIC PARTY STUDIES NPC WORK

OW161059 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1618 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 14 Dec (XINHUA)--The Standing Committee of the eighth Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party's Central Committee held its fifth meeting in Beijing from 12 to 14 December.

The meeting adopted a circular on the study and implementation of the guidelines laid down by the fourth session of the fifth NPC and the fourth session of the fifth national CPPCC Committee.

Fang Rongxin, secretary general of the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party's Central Committee, pointed out in his work report made at the meeting: This fourth session of the fifth NPC is an extremely important one. Premier Zhao Ziyang's report has pointed out for us the direction of a new path that tallies with China's state of affairs in accelerating the development of the four modernizations program. To do a good job in studying and implementing the guidelines laid down by these NPC and CPPCC sessions constitutes an important task for our party in the coming days. The Standing Committee urged the party's organizations at all levels and all its members to work hard at their own post, fulfill their duty conscientiously, give full play to their own role and make contributions to the development of the four modernizations program and to the realization of the great cause for the return of Taiwan to the motherland at an earlier date and for the reunification of the country.

In his work report, Fang Rongxin also reviewed the role of the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party in developing medicine and public health, science and technology, culture and education and other fields on the basis of the guidelines laid down by the third and sixth plenary sessions of the 11th CCP Central Committee. He said: Some of the comrades have filled in the gaps for the state in the field of scientific research, while others have won prizes from the National Science Symposium. Still others have won glorious titles, such as advanced workers and "8 March" red-banner pacesetters, and made positive contributions to the development of the four modernizations program. He said: During the past year, our party has strengthened itself organizationally and actively carried out its work. A total of 519 basic-level organs have been restored or set up. By the end of September, more than 1,500 new members had joined the party. He added: Our party is a democratic party with most of its members working in the field of medicine and public health. Our party organizations

in various localities must carry out their work even more vigorously and train even more competent people for the four modernizations.

Attending and addressing the meeting were responsible persons of the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party including Ji Fang, Zhou Gucheng, Shen Qizhen, Liu Shuxun, Yan Xinmin, Xu Binru and Ye Jiequan.

CSO: 4005/363

PARTY AND STATE

DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION VIEWS ZHAO REPORT

OW151421 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1629 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 14 Dec (XINHUA)--The resolution adopted by the 11th (enlarged) session of the Standing Committee of the 6th Central Committee of the China Association for Promoting Democracy, which closed here today, points out: Premier Zhao Ziyang's report at the fourth session of the fifth NPC is a programmatic document guiding our country to accomplish the four modernizations. It fills us with confidence in the future of our country and nation. The Central Committee of the China Association for Promoting Democracy calls on its local organizations to encourage all association members to conscientiously study and diligently implement the guidelines of the fourth session of the fifth NPC and the fourth session of the fifth CPPCC National Committee, uphold the four fundamental principles, carry forward the patriotic spirit and make new contributions to promoting Taiwan's return to the motherland and to building a socialist spiritual civilization and material civilization.

Xu Boxin, vice chairman of the Central Committee of the association, made a report on the work of the association at the meeting, in which he reviewed the work and achievements in the past year and more. He said: In the approaching new year, the association should do its work in various fields more solidly and effectively and play its role better in the broad patriotic united front.

In his report, he especially stressed that members of the association should continuously make contributions to building a socialist spiritual civilization and training competent people for the four modernizations program.

Responsible persons of the Central Committee of the association Zhou Jianren, Ye Shengtao, Wu Yifang, Lei Jieqiong and Ge Zhicheng attended the meeting.

CSO: 4005/363

PARTY AND STATE

XU DEHENG ADDRESSES JIU SAN SOCIETY ON ZHAO REPORT

OW170137 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1617 GMT 15 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--The 10th enlarged session of the Standing Committee of the 5th Central Committee of the Jiu San Society was held in Beijing today. On behalf of the Jiu San Society, Xu Deheng, chairman of the Jiu San Society, voiced resolute support for Premier Zhao Ziyang's report on the work of the government delivered at the fourth session of the fifth NPC and called on the broad masses of the society's members under the leadership of the party to increase their vigor and do their utmost to implement the various principles and tasks embodied in the report on the work of the government.

Comrades attending the meeting held that the call uttered in Premier Zhao Ziyang's report on the work of the government on the question of getting organized to tackle the key problems in science and technology is an important mission bestowed on comrades in the scientific and technological field by the state. There are talented people in the Jiu San Society, mostly scholars, who should play their role well in tackling key scientific and technical problems.

Sun Chengpei, vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Jiu San Society, delivered a report at the meeting reviewing the achievements made under the leadership of the party over the past year in the fundamental task of pursuing the four modernizations. He pointed out that many of the society's members have diligently and tenaciously dedicated themselves to science and made outstanding contributions toward developing science, technology, culture and education in our country.

CSO: 4005/363

PARTY AND STATE

NPC DEPUTIES DISCUSS EDUCATION AT PANEL MEETING

OW151351 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1258 GMT 8 Dec 81

[Excerpts] Beijing, 8 Dec (XINHUA)--At panel meetings examining the government work report, deputies from various parts of the country attending the fourth session of the fifth NPC had a lively discussion on the ninth principle for economic construction. Many deputies pointed out that the principle as well-conceived because readjusting and reforming higher, secondary and primary education to speed up the training of competent people is a matter of fundamental importance concerning our country's national economic development a fundamental construction program in itself.

Deputies Qian Lingxi, Zhang Guoshi and Guo Hefu from Liaoning said: The training of competent people is a matter of fundamental importance. The key to training competent people is to improve middle and primary school education. In arranging national economic plans, the state should increase investments in education. The entire society should pay attention to middle and primary school education and respect middle and primary school teachers.

Deputy Lu Jiaxi from Fujian said: Without good education, it is difficult to effectively develop the economy. At present, the curriculums of specialties in our universities are too narrow, and students cannot acquire professional knowledge in a comprehensive way. Often a student majoring in physics does not understand chemistry. Too much emphasis is placed on the key middle and primary schools, and the results are poor. We should keep in mind the vast majority of the students and adhere to the principle of all-round moral, intellectual and physical development.

Deputy Li Zhu from Jiangxi said: Education in middle and primary schools is lopsidedly aimed at raising the proportion of students who can pass entrance examinations into higher schools, paying attention only to the best class and the top students, stressing intellectual education at the expense of moral and physical training, stressing science subjects at the expense of the arts, stressing classroom work and neglecting extracurricular activities. This has led to many bad consequences.

Deputy Li Yunfeng from Tianjin made a three-point suggestion: Do not artificially designate key schools, but let schools earn their reputation through competition; revise and compile teaching materials suited to our country's actual conditions; and from now on, recruitment of workers or assignment of jobs should all be based on moral, intellectual and physical standards, and only the best should be selected.

Deputy Hou Yujun from Zhejiang said: At present, most of the senior middle school graduates are unable to go on to college, and having no production skills, they are not qualified for jobs. We should turn some of the regular middle schools into vocational schools in a planned way.

Deputies Li Wenren and Ma Xiufa from Fujian said: Our medical education is very backward. There are few medical doctors and nurses, and the quality of medical services is not high. In some countries, there are 250 doctors for every 100,000 people. Our number of doctors is much smaller. It is necessary to establish more medical colleges. College students should be allowed to pay their own way, not all should be paid for by the state. However, there can be more scholarships to encourage good students.

Deputy Xia Juhua from Hubei said: Every trade and profession has its own schools except acrobatics and the circus. Our country's acrobatics has a long history and a broad mass basis. Although it has developed tremendously since liberation, there is a lack of trained people in acrobatic theories, artistic creative writing and directing. These talents can be trained if we have acrobatics and circus schools.

Deputy Duo Ba from Qinghai suggested the strengthening of education for minority nationalities.

Deputies Dong Tianzhen and Peng Guangzhi from Qinghai said: The employment of young people waiting for jobs is an acute problem that exists in all parts of our country at present. Efforts should be made to open up more avenues and find more ways to provide jobs to young people.

Deputies Shi Zhaotang and Qin Shaoying said: It is necessary to set up more teachers schools to train teachers and improve their standards.

Deputy Li Yuhua said: Preschool education is very important. At present, kindergartens are few in number. The masses say, "it is more difficult to enter kindergartens than colleges." Good preschool education and child care concern family planning and the growth of a generation of people. Investment should be increased in this field to train more competent personnel for preschool education.

CSO: 4005/363

PARTY AND STATE

NPC DEPUTY ON PRD DRAFT CIVIL PROCEDURE LAW

OW191455 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1435 GMT 12 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 12 Dec (XINHUA)--At a panel discussion meeting of the fourth session of the fifth NPC on the "PRC Civil Procedure Law (Draft)," Tao Xijin, NPC deputy and vice chairman of the Legislative Affairs Commission of the NPC Standing Committee, elaborated on the necessity and importance of the formulation and experimental application of this draft law.

Tao Xijin said: The civil procedure law is one of the state's basic laws. As its contents have a wide embrace and the problems to be studied and explored are numerous, it is first necessary to have an NPC plenary session approve it in principle before authorizing the NPC Standing Committee to review it and make revisions on the basis of the opinions offered by the deputies and others. It will then be put into force on an experimental basis. Further revisions will be made on the basis of the experience gained during the trial period before it is submitted to an NPC plenary session for promulgation and implementation.

Tao Xijin pointed out: The civil procedure law embodies the principles, methods and processes that must be followed in civil cases, a procedural law on how to handle civil law suits. The substantive law makes substantive stipulations regarding law suits while the procedure law ensures the full implementation of the substantive laws. However, it should not be construed that the procedure law is less important than the substantive law. Like skin and flesh, they are closely connected and supplement each other. Without an effective and practical procedural law, the stipulations of the substantive law will not be correctly implemented.

Tao Xijin said: This "procedure law (draft)" was drafted after summing up the experience gained over many years in handling civil cases and taking into consideration the practical conditions of our country which is experiencing a historical period. In solving civil disputes and correctly handling the contradictions among the people themselves, we have accumulated some fine experience for the convenience and benefit of the people, beginning with the establishment of revolutionary bases. We have always stressed relying on the masses, investigation and especially mediation in handling civil disputes. This is very good experience that has been tested in practice and proven to be effective. It is absolutely correct to definitely embody this experience as a basic principle in handling civil cases. It must be pointed out that a large number, or the absolute majority, of civil disputes in our country have been solved not through law suits

in the courts but through the reputable mediation of the basic-level community people's mediation committees. This good method of mediating the contradictions among the people themselves is outstanding by world standards. Therefore, the draft has specifically defined the legal status, nature and function of the people's mediation committees and their relationship with the people's court. All localities must render greater support to the organization and work of the people's mediation committees.

Tao Xijin said: In the course of drafting this law, the drafting team conducted massive investigations, solicited the opinions of the departments concerned, on many occasions asked several selected courts to refer to this draft when handling civil cases. Take Beijing's Chaoyang District people's court for example. It overcame the problem of blindly handling civil cases by handling them in a planned way after referring to this draft law, resulting in better quality and higher efficiency. Statistics of this court show that during the half year period from August 1980 to February 1981, of the 246 civil cases handled in accordance with this draft, no appellate case was returned to it for rehearing. Only in a few cases were judgments partially altered, and they were very minor for that matter. In 1979, when this draft was not referred to, six cases were returned to this court for retrial. Besides, as far as the situation in Beijing is concerned, the number of criminal cases is gradually decreasing while that of civil cases is increasing day by day. A great number of the civil cases have not been solved. An important reason is that the court has no law to go by. Such is also the case with many places throughout the country. This fully speaks for the necessity of this law.

Tao Xijin expressed his firm belief that the promulgation and implementation of this draft law will greatly help improve the courts' handling of civil cases, still better protect the social economic order and strengthen and perfect the socialist legal system. In conclusion he expressed the hope that courts at various levels and all juristic workers would contribute to perfecting this draft law through their practice and further study.

CSO: 4005/363

PARTY AND STATE

TIANJIN NPC DEPUTIES DISCUSS PROBLEMS

OW161113 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1701 GMT 8 Dec 81

[Excerpts] Beijing, 8 Dec (XINHUA)--Tianjin deputies to the fourth session of the fifth NPC have unanimously supported Premier Zhao Ziyang's report on the work of the government. They said: This report will further unify the understanding of the people throughout the country, make them unite as one and enhance their confidence in improving the national economy.

Deputy Wang Enhui [3769 1869 1920] said: The excellent situation in our country shows that the line, principles and policies laid down since the party's third plenary session are correct. He held that another important factor was that the party and state leaders had gone down to the grassroots units to conduct investigation and study to get a clear picture of the situation and to give supervision. He said: Comrade Hu Yaobang visited seven provinces in 1 year and Comrade Zhao Ziyang also conducted inspection tours in various parts of the country. Without supervision and inspection, it would be difficult to put policies into effect even if they are correct. Supervision and inspection by leading comrades therefore are very important. He said: Leading comrades of the party Central Committee and the State Council have set the example, our leading cadres at all levels should follow suit.

Some deputies also expressed their views on the questions of housing and urban construction and the streamlining of administrative structure. Deputy Dai Nianci [2071 1819 1964] suggested that departments concerned should work out principles, policies and systematic measures for housing construction including a rental policy so as to solve the people's housing problem.

Deputy Gu Kangle [7357 1660 2867] said: The target for urban transformation and construction is to create a convenient, comfortable, safe and fine environment and conditions for living and work. Numerous problems still exist in urban construction, the most prominent one being that the size of population in big cities is out of control.

Deputy Wang Enhui suggested that local governments give priority to service projects by doing each year a few things that most urgently concern workers and staff members, especially in the fields of urban construction, education and public health. Factories and enterprises are presently devoting a great deal of energy to running social affairs. He suggested that this type of social service

projects be undertaken by society, that is, by the government, so that the factories and enterprises can concentrate their energy on economic construction.

Deputy Ou Tangliang [0575 2768 0081] said: Streamlining administrative structure is not an easy task. Specific principles and methods should be formulated according to the various conditions. Generally an age limit should be set for guidance so that older personnel can be reassigned to the second or their line in work. Steps should be taken to retrench the considerable number of personnel who do serve no useful purpose in state organs and proper arrangements should be made to take care of these retrenched personnel. Henceforth, in appointing personnel, the state organs must use a new method by strictly spelling out the requirements so as to hire qualified personnel. In the meantime, shifting of personnel should be permitted in order to constantly bring in the new.

Some deputies also enthusiastically discussed issues about raising economic results, cutting down on expenses and opposing waste.

Deputy Qi Zisheng [7871 1311 0581] said: The state has repeated orders and instructions on cutting down expenditures and saving foreign change specifying that no small cars should be imported. But from the newspapers it is learned that 30,000 small cars have been imported this year while those produced by ourselves have found no market. This is a serious problem. Deputy Zhu Xianyi [2612 2009 1744] said: There has been considerable waste in public health projects in the past 30 years or more.

Deputy Li Yunfeng [2621 0061 1496] also made some suggestions on educational reform. Deputy Chen Jingrun [7115 2529 3387] strongly urged at the meeting that specific measures be adopted to ensure that scientific and technical personnel devote five-sixth of their time to research.

CSO: 4005/363

PARTY AND STATE

NPC DEPUTY ON 10 CURRENT TASKS FOR HEBEI

OW161321 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1622 GMT 8 Dec 81

[Excerpts] Beijing, 8 Dec (XINHUA)--Jiang Yizhen, NPC deputy to the fourth session of the fifth NPC, second secretary of the Hebei Provincial CCP Committee and chairman of the Hebei Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, said [date not given]: Premier Zhao Ziyang's government work report is a reflection and extension of the party's line, principles and policies since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. It summarizes the experience gained in the past 32 years since the founding of new China and is a program for China's economic construction in the near future.

He said: Hebei Province has rich resources both above and under ground. Its present economic foundation is fairly strong and the potential for production is great. It is located near Beijing and Tianjin with all the necessary transport facilities. It has favorable conditions for developing economy. However, due to the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the serious mistakes committed by the former major responsible person of the provincial CCP Committee under the guidance of the "left" ideology, coupled with our lack of understanding of these problems and lack of earnest efforts in implementing the line, principles and policies of the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee for some time in the past, Hebei Province has not exploited its advantages and tapped its potential. Compared with other advanced fraternal provinces and municipalities, it has lagged behind in the work of bringing order out of chaos and readjusting the national economy. The party Central Committee and the State Council have been very concerned about Hebei Province. The Hebei work conference held in Beijing last July charted the road of advance for us and helped solve our problems in guiding ideology and practical work. We must do our best to catch up and change our backwardness as soon as possible.

In keeping with the guidelines contained in Premier Zhao's report, Jiang Yizhen laid down the tasks in 10 respects that Hebei should strive to fulfill at present:

1. Resolutely fulfill the task of bringing order out of chaos, continue to thoroughly criticize the "left," thoroughly redress all frameups and false and misjudged cases, ensure correct treatment for the individuals according to policy and do a good job in readjusting the leading bodies.

2. Conscientiously implement the principles of readjusting, restructuring, reorganizing and upgrading the national economy.
3. Conscientiously implement the party Central Committee's principles and policies on agriculture and thoroughly publicize the "two long-time no-changes [liang ge chang qi bu bian 0357 0020 7022 2601 0008 6239]." While actively doing a good job in grain production, great efforts should be made to develop a diversified economy.
4. Do a good job in overhauling the existing enterprises and take effective measures to solve the problems of poor quality, high consumption and poor economic results.
5. Build a number of key projects that are urgently needed for the development of national economy and that yield good economic results by proceeding in stages, group by group and by taking into account our own capabilities.
6. Persist in an open-door policy, make rational use of foreign capital, actively build enterprises with Chinese and foreign investments, carry out compensatory trade and engage in processing of materials, designs and patterns furnished by foreign traders.
7. Adopt a correct service orientation for finance and trade and ensure a smooth circulation of commodities.
8. Strengthen the leadership over science and technology.
9. Attach importance to urban work and bring out the role of cities in economic construction.
10. Resolutely streamline administrative organs, reactify work styles and overcome bureaucracy.

CSO: 4005/363

PARTY AND STATE

FOURTH SESSION OF FIFTH CPPCC CLOSES

OW170647 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0708 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 14 Dec (XINHUA)--The fourth session of the fifth CPPCC National Committee came to a close at the Great Hall of the People on the morning of 14 December.

The closing meeting was presided over by Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the CPPCC National Committee.

The fourth session of the fifth CPPCC National Committee opened on 28 November. During this session, those attending were present at meetings of the fourth session of the fifth NPC as observers. Over the past 17 days, CPPCC members seriously examined the work of the Standing Committee of the CPPCC National Committee over the past year, discussed the various reports and draft laws presented to the fourth session of the fifth NPC and made many pertinent criticisms and positive proposals. The session's meetings were lively and animated and wrapped in a warm atmosphere while members all freely spoke their minds, obviously reflecting the consolidation and development of the political situation of stability and unity in our country.

The 14 November meeting approved "the political resolution of the fourth session of the fifth CPPCC National Committee" and elected Liu Fei and Dong Qiwu as additional vice chairmen of the fifth CPPCC National Committee and 19 additional members to its Standing Committee.

The political resolution says: The fourth session of the fifth CPPCC National Committee unanimously approves Premier Zhao Ziyang's report on government work and other reports delivered to the fourth session of the fifth NPC. It calls on all nationalities, democratic parties, patriotic personages of no party affiliation, all civil organizations, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao compatriots, overseas Chinese and all other patriotic forces to hold high the banner of patriotism, enhance their confidence, invigorate their spirit, unite and go all out to make new contributions to implementing the various principles and tasks set forth by Premier Zhao Ziyang in order to achieve socialist modernization, defend world peace and accomplish the great cause of the motherland's reunification.

The 14 November meeting also passed the "resolution of the fourth session of the fifth CPPCC National Committee on the work of its Standing Committee." This resolution expresses satisfaction over the Standing Committee's work during the past year.

The same meeting also passed a resolution approving the examination report made by the Motions Examination Committee.

Present at the meeting were vice chairmen of the CPPCC National Committee Ulanhu, Liu Laotao, Lu Dingyi, Li Weiham, Xu Deheng, Kang Keqing, Ji Fang, Wang Shoudao, Pebala Gelieh Namje, Zhou Jianren, Zhuang Xiquan, Hu Ziang, Rong Yiren, Hu Yuzhi, Wang Kunlun, He Changgong, Cheng Zihua, Yang Xiufeng, Burhan Shahidi, Zhou Peiyuan and Qian Changzhao.

Present at the meeting as observers were responsible persons of the united front work departments of the CCP Central Committee and all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions; counsellors of the State Council; and responsible persons of the CPPCC National Committee and provincial, municipal and autonomous regional CPPCC committees.

CSO: 4005/363

PARTY AND STATE

YE JIANYING RECEIVES GUANGDONG NPC DEPUTIES

HK160202 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 1445 GMT 12 Dec 81

[Feature: "NPC Standing Committee Chairman Ye and His Fellow Native Villagers"]

[Text] On 10 December, in the deepening twilight, a car drove out of the place where the Guangdong NPC deputies were staying. Inside the car were six deputies from Meixian Prefecture and one deputy from Shaoguan Prefecture who was originally from Meixian. They chatted and joked excitedly on the way. Before they came to the NPC meeting, fellow villagers had repeatedly asked them to pass on their regards to NPC Chairman Ye Jianying and to report to the elderly gentlemen news of achievements in his native village. After their arrival in Beijing, they wrote a joint letter to NPC Chairman Ye in which they expressed this desire of the folks back home. It is hard to imagine that, being so preoccupied with affairs of the state and so advanced in years, Marshall Ye would, after a few days, send Director Wang from his office to bring them to his home. Naturally, they were extremely happy!

At a little past 8 pm, the deputies arrived in the sitting room of NPC Chairman Ye. After a while, the silver-haired Marshall Ye emerged from an inner room. He warmly shook hands with the deputies and asked each one: "What is your name? Where are you from? Where do you work?" Thereupon he asked his fellow native villagers to take a seat and asked his son Ye Xuanning to offer apples and tea to his guests.

"When we left for Beijing to attend the NPC session, the folks in Meixian asked us to call on you and extend their greetings," said Liu Cunjin, principal of the Yangwen primary school of Chengbei Commune in Meixian, in passing on the regards of the people from his native village.

"When I returned to China from abroad, the overseas Chinese residing in the United States and Canada also asked me to extend their greetings to you," said Zhang Hechang, returned overseas Chinese and vice chairman of the Shaoguan Municipal Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese.

"Good, good, thank you," said Marshall Ye, visibly pleased.

Visitors from one's native village naturally know about the situation there, so NPC Chairman Ye asked about the situation in Meixian with interest. Speaking in

their native dialect, the deputies told him of the situation in their village and the drawing room was soon filled with a pleasant atmosphere.

"How are the people's living conditions in Meixian Prefecture at present?" asked Marshall Ye.

"A great change has taken place since the convocation of the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. The grain problem, which could not be solved for a long time, was solved after the implementation of the production responsibility system and grain production has increased," replied Liu Cunjin.

"How has construction work been progressing in Meixian?" asked Marshall Ye.

"Recently, a lot of houses have been built on the southern end of the Meijiang bridge. The original Meijiang bridge is very narrow, so we are now building a new, larger Meijiang bridge. A new Meixian county seat is also being built," said Zhong Yuqin, secretary of the Meixian Xietian Mining Bureau.

"Have there been any developments in small-scale hydroelectric technology?" asked Marshall Ye.

"We have used practically anything that is capable of generating electricity. Some electricity is used in the processing of agricultural sideline products, but most is used for lighting." By now, everybody had joined in the conversation.

"Meixian Prefecture is an overcrowded place. In the past, we always had to cut into mountains to create new land. Do the people still have to open up wasteland?"

"Since the implementation of the responsibility system, we no longer have to open up wasteland. We are now planting trees everywhere," said Luo Xinzi, secretary of Ningxin Commune in Xingning, reporting on this change.

Thinking of Yanyang Commune where he had his home, Yi Jianying asked at length about the preservation of the Lingguang Temple, a cultural relic on nearby Yinna Mountain. Liu Cunjin said: "The Lingguang Temple was severely damaged during the 10-year disorder, but it has now been completely restored. The path from the foot of the mountain to the temple used to be about as narrow as a sheep's intestine and took 2 hours to climb. Now, a highway has been built as far as halfway up the mountain and it only takes half an hour to climb. Chinese returning from abroad should go to see it."

Marshall Ye then asked if certain of the elderly in Meixian were still living and in good health. The deputies replied to each inquiry.

Meixian Prefecture has an abundance of products, but, due to transportation difficulties, Chinese returning from abroad to invest, experience all sorts of inconveniences. Will it be possible in future to build a railway from Guangzhou to Meixian and to link it up from there with Longyan in Fujian Province? When Liu Cunjin, Luo Xinzi and others asked Marshall Ye for his opinion, Marshall Ye said: "That's a good idea! You can raise it at the NPC!"

The intimate conversation lasted for 1 whole hour. NPC Chairman Ye had a souvenir group photograph taken with his fellow native villagers and then watched a film with them with great interest.

Li Yunying, a deputy from Wanghua County, presented Marshall Ye with pomelos and oranges that had been brought from his native village. "The gifts themselves may be as light as goose feathers," said the deputy, "but they are tokens of the native villagers' regard."

Before they got into the car, Yi Jianying shook hands with them all and bade them all farewell. Even when the car was passing through the garden, he was still standing by the gate waving to them.

CSO: 4005/363

PARTY AND STATE

LABOR MODELS STRESS IMPLEMENTING NPC GUIDELINES

OW190124 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1556 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Excerpts] Beijing, 14 Dec (XINHUA)--Labor models who are NPC deputies and CPPCC members today put forward a proposal calling on the nation's staff and workers to become mobilized, strive to be models in implementing the guidelines of the fourth session of the fifth NPC and contribute their wisdom and efforts to rejuvenating our country's economy and building a socialist motherland with a high material and spiritual civilization.

The proposal was made by the 90 or so national, provincial, municipal and regional labor models attending the fourth session of the fifth NPC and the fourth session of the fifth CPPCC National Committee at a symposium sponsored by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. The symposium was presided over by Wang Chonglun, vice chairman of the All-China federation of Trade Unions. Zhu Xuefan, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee and vice chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, and Gu Dachun, vice chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, addressed the meeting.

Zhu Xuefan said: The fourth session of the fifth NPC, which was just victoriously concluded, was an important meeting of far-reaching significance. It correctly analyzed our country's situation, which is getting better and better every day; set the 10 principles for future economic construction; and opened a new path for a Chinese-style socialist economic construction.

Zhu urged the staff and workers throughout the country to display their enthusiasm of being the masters of their own country, set an example of implementing the 10 principles for future economic construction and exert joint efforts in building an invincible socialist power.

Gu Dachun said: We must victoriously realize the fighting tasks put forward by Premier Zhao Ziyang. Each and every worker in our country must further heighten his revolutionary spirit, manifest his sense of responsibility of being the master of his own country and maintain and carry forward the glorious characters of the working class. Gu said: We must continue to commend and popularize the advanced ideologies and experiences of the labor models and advanced personnel and continue to deepen the mass movement of emulating, catching up with and surpassing the advanced elements and helping those who are less advanced.

CSO: 4005/363

PARTY AND STATE

NPC DEPUTIES DISCUSS SIMPLIFYING ADMINISTRATION

OW160550 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1131 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 10 Dec (XINHUA)--In examining the government work report, some NPC deputies voiced their opinions regarding simplifying government structure.

The State Council Is Welcomed to Take the Lead in Simplifying the Administration

Zhejiang Deputy Wang Yuexia said: The party Central Committee and the State Council have decided to take resolute measures to restructure the administration. This is absolutely right and has the support of the people. The overstaffed administrations and mutual haggling and shifting of responsibility among the multitiered departments have seriously affected the current economic readjustment and restructuring. They have affected the development of production and the smooth progress of the four modernizations program.

Yunnan deputies Sun Yuting and Shi Lin said: It is an important decision to restructure the administration, beginning with the departments under the State Council. We hope a correct policy and resolute measures will be taken to realize it.

Shanghai Deputy Rong Yiren said: The key to improving economic results lies in reforming the economic system and the government structure. If the administration is not restructured and the situation of mutual haggling and shifting of responsibility continues, then the economic system will not be reformed either. Mutual haggling and shifting of responsibility have given me a lot of headaches in the work I am doing. Things that can be done by giving a simple instruction have remained unsettled for months.

Shanghai Deputy Liu Fonian said: In reforming government structure, it is necessary not only to simplify the administration and the staff, but also to earnestly change the situation where the government departments in charge are obliged to handle every detail. Powers should be appropriately relegated to lower bodies. The leading departments need only attend to the important matters and let the grassroots units take care of many other things.

The Administration Should Be Simplified at Higher as Well as Lower Levels

Anhui Deputy Li Zhifa said: The administration has to be simplified, both at higher and lower levels. Administrative organs as well as enterprises are

overstaffed and full of superfluous personnel. A company in Maanshan has, on the average, one administrative person for every three workers. Deputy Shen Shiyue said: Anhui Province's Liuan Municipality has only three suburban communes, but it has a municipal agriculture bureau with eight or nine directors.

Heilongjiang Deputy Li Wenxin said: The problem of overstaffed administrations, multitiered departments and superfluous personnel is rather common at all levels from top to bottom. Take for instance the administrative organs under the jurisdiction of Nenjiang Prefecture. Compared with the period prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution," the number of departments, offices, commissions and bureaus has increased from 41 to 66, the number of sections and subsections has increased from 145 to 305 and the number of administrative cadres has increased from 860 to 1,275. To get things done, one has to go through many departments and the efficiency is very low. Since the founding of new China, there has been much haggling about simplifying administration, but it seems more organs have sprung up as a result. I hope real success will be achieved this time.

Comprehensive Planning and Good Ideological Work Are Needed in Simplifying the Administration

Many deputies from Beijing pointed out that in the past, simplification of administration was invariably followed by further swelling of the administration. This time it is necessary to make sure that the structure is rational and avoid doing things by fits and starts and eventually sliding back to the original state. Being poor and weak in foundation, our country cannot afford to undergo further reverses. There should be a comprehensive plan for simplifying the administration in order to guarantee success in this work.

Liaoning Deputy Wang Chonglun said: Simplifying the administration is very complicated work. First we must do meticulous ideological work and solve the problem of understanding. In the past, people were led to believe, because of the ways things were done, that cadres go to work at the grassroots because they have made mistakes and that cadres come up to work at offices because they have rendered meritorious service. The idea that one should constantly go up, not down, and that a government official cannot be an ordinary subject at the same time has obstructed cadres from going to work at grassroots level. Departments of the central authorities should set an example in simplifying the administration and personnel. The All-China Federation of Trade Unions is also an overstaffed organ crammed full of superfluous personnel. It needs to be simplified. I would like to take the lead and sign up for working at the grassroots.

Anhui Deputy Cheng Guanghua and Ma Changyan said: To do a good job in restructuring government organs, it is imperative to arrange work for the superfluous personnel. We would like to suggest four measures in this respect: First, strictly enforce the system of retirement, beginning with the organs of the central authorities and leading cadres; second, workers and staff who are in the prime of life but who lack practical experience and vocational and technical skills should be released from their jobs for rotational training group by group; third, some office cadres should be specially tasked with investigations and studies to help grassroots units solve problems--they can be rotated every 1 or 2 years; fourth, assign office cadres with special skills to work at grassroots vocational units in order to strengthen the work at the frontline.

PARTY AND STATE

NPC SESSION TO END 13 DECEMBER, CPPCC 14 DECEMBER

HK120749 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 12 Dec 81 p 4

[Report: "China's Budget Balance Has Not Been Consolidated; Elimination [words indistinct], Curbing of Inflation Must Be Tackled]

[Text] Beijing, 12 Dec--The NPC and CPPCC sessions are now in their closing stages. The NPC session will end tomorrow afternoon and the CPPCC session on the morning of 14 December.

This NPC session has not invited a number of ministers to answer questions at group discussions, as happened last year, but the NPC deputies and CPPCC members have been enthusiastic in speechmaking. They have expressed tremendous support for Premier Zhao Ziyang's report, and have also come up with some frank criticisms and suggestions.

Zhao Ziyang's report has been praised as the only report for many years since the founding of the state to lay stress on the economy. Its contents are sound, it seeks truth from facts, avoids boasting, stresses economic efficiency, upholds the orientation of agriculture--consumer goods--heavy industry, clearly designates the task of light industry as the production of consumer goods, and affirms that the people's living standards must be improved on the basis of developing production. This report has been very well received.

The report has been praised for laying stress on the basic balance of the budget and basic elimination of the deficit. Many deputies praised this as a very difficult accomplishment. However, some deputies and CPPCC members pointed out, this was only attained by reducing capital construction and other expenditures, issuing bonds, and borrowing money from the localities; the achievement in fact has not yet been consolidated. Some also pointed out that it is not appropriate to count foreign loans as revenue.

The report stresses that prices were basically stable has been criticized. Many deputies and CPPCC members expressed doubts and even disagreements over this point. They declared that, as entrusted by the masses, they had put forward many opinions at the session strongly demanding a curb on soaring prices. Some of them pointed out, applying administrative orders to maintain price stability is unworkable in the end; it is first essential to achieve basic balancing of the budget; prices can only be stable if there is no inflation, or only a very little. Many deputies and CPPCC members had very strong views on the official price hikes

of cigarettes and wine. In particular, people were made even more angry by the further price rises for cigarettes and wine arbitrarily instituted by certain state-owned organs. They demanded that this bad trend be rapidly halted.

The 14-day NPC session has been held in 2 stages. In the first stage, stress was laid on discussing the economy; in the second, on discussing the legal system. Speakers demanded that the legal system be put on a sounder basis and that democracy be brought into further play. The enthusiastic and frank speeches made at this NPC and CPPCC session have given people the impression of a democratic atmosphere.

CSO: 4005/363

PARTY AND STATE

ULANHU WELCOMES NEW CPPCC VICE CHAIRMEN, MEMBERS

OW170301 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1510 GMT 16 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 16 Dec (XINHUA)--Ulanhu, member of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee and vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee, said at a tea party sponsored by the CPPCC this afternoon: There is a galaxy of talented people in the CPPCC, including veteran experienced cadres and experts from various professions and trades. We must be good at organizing them and put them into full use. We should also intensify investigation and study and launch all sorts of activities so the CPPCC will henceforth play the role of a "brain trust" in implementing the principles and tasks of economic construction.

The tea party was held to welcome the newly-elected vice chairmen and members of the Standing Committee of the CPPCC. Attending were CPPCC Vice Chairmen Liu Lantao, Lu Dingyi, Li Weiha, Xu Deheng, Ji Fang, Wang Shoudao, Pabala Gelielangjie, Zhou Jianren, Hu Ziang, Rong Yiren, Wang Kunlun, He Changgong, Yang Xiufeng, Zhou Peiyuan, Qian Changzhao; NPC Standing Committee vice chairman and CPPCC Standing Committee member Bainqen Erdini Qoigyai Gyaincain; and the newly-elected vice chairmen of the CPPCC National Committee Liu Fei and Dong Qiwu.

In his speech Ulanhu welcomed the newly-elected vice chairmen and Standing Committee members joining in the work. He said: The fourth session of the fifth NPC and the fourth session of the fifth CPPCC were successes. The tasks for the CPPCC from now on are to work in a down-to-earth way and to vigorously publicize and comprehensively implement the guidelines of the political resolution and work report approved by the CPPCC session. Ulanhu hoped that CPPCC Standing Committee members will pay more attention to CPPCC work and take part in CPPCC activities earnestly so this patriotic united front organization will play a bigger role.

Dong Qiwu, Zhou Jianren and the newly-elected CPPCC Standing Committee member Rong Gaotang also spoke at the tea party.

CPPCC Deputy Secretary General Peng Youjin presided over the tea party held in the CPPCC auditorium. A total of more than 100 new and old CPPCC Standing Committee members were present.

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PARTY AND STATE

NPC PANEL DISCUSSION ON SOCIAL ORDER

OW161037 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0205 GMT 12 Dec 81

[Excerpts] Beijing, 12 Dec (XINHUA)--In the past few days, NPC deputies have held panel discussions on our country's legislative work and the social order situation.

Great Achievements Have Been Made in Legislative Work in the Past Few Years

Deputy Wang Xiujin from Shanxi said: The NPC has done a lot of work in legislation and has played a tremendous role in strengthening and perfecting the legal system and maintaining social order.

Deputy Wei Xinyi from Anhui said: Since the close of the third session of the fifth NPC, the NPC Standing Committee has moved faster in perfecting the legal system. The laws, decrees and regulations it has approved have played an important role in implementing the principle of furthering economic readjustments, political stability and unity.

Legislative Work Should Be Further Strengthened

Deputies from Hebei felt that present legislative work still cannot fully meet the needs of the four modernizations and should be further strengthened, especially economic legislation.

Deputy Zhu Hongchang said: At present, there is much confusion in enterprise management. There are many things that have no law to follow. Economic laws and regulations, such as factory law, enterprise management law, labor law and so forth should be formulated as soon as possible. Specialized personnel should be organized to study the economic laws and regulations already in existence, make necessary additions and revisions, according to objective conditions and actual needs, and then reaffirm these economic laws and regulations so that they will continue to be effective. It is also necessary to formulate regulations governing retirement of cadres as soon as possible.

Deputy Ma Jie expressed the hope that a regional national autonomy law be legislated in earnest.

Strengthen Legal Education, Train Legal Workers

Deputy Yan Youmin from Anhui said: At present, our law-enforcement force is rather weak, and the personnel shortage and low standard cannot meet the needs for improving the legal system. To strengthen legislative and law-enforcement work, it is necessary to vigorously train legal personnel and bring into full play the role of legal workers.

It Is Necessary to Legislate A News and Publications Law

Deputy Wang Yuhu from Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region said: A news and publications law should be formulated, stipulating that newspapers, magazines, works of literature and art, television and radio are not allowed to contain anything that hurts the motherland's dignity and the physical and mental health of the people, young people in particular, and not allowed to reveal state secrets. Violators should be held legally responsible.

It Is Necessary to Strengthen Legislation and to Strictly Enforce the Law

Deputies Luo Qiuyue, Liu Yanan and Zhao Qi from Hunan pointed out that some of the laws already promulgated are not being strictly enforced. In some places, public security and social order have remained unstable and undulating, and cases are again on the increase. An important reason is that the law is not strictly enforced to deal effective blows.

Deputies Zhang Fucai, Luo Tingbao and Tang Liqun felt that the failure to strictly enforce the law is closely related to inadequate propaganda on the legal system. They suggested that party and government departments at all levels should have people specifically responsible for propaganda and education work. The law-enforcement organs should step up education on strictly enforcing the law and set an example in upholding the sanctity of the law.

Many deputies from Guangdong Province pointed out that the present state of law-enforcement is not satisfactory.

It Is Necessary to Strike at Speculators

Deputies Xia-er-ya-bu and Duo Ba from Qinghai said: Taking advantage of shortcomings in our work, speculators are coming to the pastoral areas to buy pilose antlers, musk, Chinese caterpillar fungus and other valuable medicinal materials, as well as state-monopolized materials, such as cattlehide and wool, to seek exorbitant profits at the expense of the national interest, making it difficult for state purchases. They have direct connections with speculators in Guangzhou and other places to trade for television sets, tape recorders, wristwatches and so forth, which they bring back to Qinghai to sell at high prices and make huge profits. These speculators have money. Some of them also take part in religious and political activities to cheat religious believers.

They said that trade at country fairs also must be strictly controlled, and speculators must be hit hard, not just to impose fines on them. Speculators who have violated the law must be handled as criminals.

Attention Should Be Paid to Solving the Problem of Youth Criminal Offenders

Deputy Shi Zhaotang from Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region said: The report of the procuratorate mentioned the principle of educating, saving and transforming young people who took a wrong step in life and committed criminal offenses. This is one aspect of the work--to "cure the sickness." It is more important to "prevent the disease."

Make Concerted Efforts to Tackle the Problem in a Comprehensive Way

Deputies from Shandong said: Our public security situation has not yet basically improved. In some places, the crime rate is on the rise, and this is a new situation. We must continue to implement the principle of "severe and prompt punishment" to deal resolute blows at offenders.

Deputy Yao Shichang and others said: It is necessary to "tackle the problem in a comprehensive way" and to have people at all levels and in all concerned departments work together with one heart and one mind. First of all, the public security and procuratorate organs and the courts should closely cooperate and not make things difficult for each other. The literary and art propaganda departments, too, should cooperate well. At the last session, the deputies made a lot of criticisms and suggestions about some unhealthy aspects of films and drama, but the situation has not changed much for the better. In a sense, there is a certain relationship between the high youth crime rate and the showing of unhealthy films and television programs. Some films include murder and sex scenes, which have a bad influence.

Four Suggestions to Improve Social Order

Deputies Su Gang, Xu Jiansheng and others from Guizhou said that to basically improve social order, we still have to do a lot of work and go through a process. They suggested:

1. The principles and policies concerning what kind of criminals should be dealt with harshly and swiftly according to law and how harsh and how swift their punishment should be, are very important in striking at criminal activities. Chief Procurator Huang Huoqing mentioned all of them and explained things very clearly in his report. From now on, we must continuously and persistently implement them.

2. On the basis of actual present conditions, we should do a good job in youth education from all sides and strengthen our efforts to "tackle the problem in a comprehensive way." We should not rely only on the public security and judicial organs, but must mobilize and organize forces in all circles, ask everyone to fulfill his responsibility and do a good job in this field. Then we can prevent and reduce crime.

3. We should pay attention to social education, constantly improve our cultural, artistic and propaganda work, actively develop the "five stresses and four beauties" activities, with special emphasis on beauty of the mind, and build a spiritual civilization.

4. We should continue to do good work in providing jobs for the working people. Before finding jobs for young people awaiting employment, it is necessary to organize them to study and do productive labor.

CSO: 4005/363

PARTY AND STATE

HUBEI CHIEF PROCURATORS' MEETING CONCLUDES

HK151250 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Text] The Hubei provincial meeting of the chief procurators of all prefectures, municipalities and counties which concluded on 12 December demanded that procuratorial organs at all levels throughout the province continue to severely and quickly strike blows at all kinds of crimes, strengthen investigation and prosecution of economic cases and cases involving violations of the legal system and ensure further improvement of social order.

This provincial meeting of the chief procurators of all prefectures, municipalities and counties held: Over the past year, our province has actively carried out procuratorial work with tidying up social order as the central task and achieved relatively great progress. The meeting demanded: Procuratorial organs at all levels must advance on the crest of victory and, in coordination with the public security organs and people's courts, continue to regard tidying up social order as the central task. In accordance with the law, they must severely and quickly punish murderers, rapists, robbers, arsonists, criminals who detonate bombs and other criminals who seriously jeopardize social order. They must resolutely strike blows at counterrevolutionaries. Meanwhile, they must seriously implement the principles and policies of the party and state law. They must leniently deal with criminals who actively make a clean breast of their guilt, surrender themselves and render meritorious service.

The meeting emphasized: In view of the current serious criminal activities in the economic sphere, procuratorial organs at all levels must vigorously strengthen investigation and prosecution of economic cases and cases involving violations of the legal system. In accordance with the law, they must investigate and severely punish without mercy criminals found guilty of accepting and offering bribes and of evading and refusing to pay taxes, those held seriously liable for incidents, those found guilty of encroaching on citizens' democratic rights, and those whose cases are serious, harmful and have great ill effects.

During the meeting, Vice Governor (Li Jun) attended and spoke.

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PARTY AND STATE

RENMIN RIBAO ON REVOLUTIONARY LEADER CAI HESEN

HK110338 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Dec 81 p 5

[Article by Liao Gailong [1394 5556 7127]: "'The Chinese People Will Always Remember Him'--In Commemoration of Cai Hesen, Brilliant Leader in the Early Period of Our Party"]

[Text] In late autumn 1931, Comrade Cai Hesen was brutally killed by Kuomintang reactionaries.

Comrade Cai Hesen was born in 1895 in Xiang Township, Hunan (today's Shuang Feng County). He was one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party, an outstanding theoretician and propagandist of the party during its early years, a brilliant leader and a faithful champion of communism. As Comrade Zhou En-lai once said, "Comrade Hesen deserves to be forever cherished by us." And as Comrade Deng Xiaoping said in his forward of "The Collected Works of Cai He-sen" published in August 1979, "he made a great contribution to the Chinese revolution, and the Chinese people will always remember him."

"Hesen Is A Thoroughgoing Marxist"

As early as 1918 Comrade Cai Hesen together with Comrade Mao Zedong organized the progressive group the New People's Student Society. In 1919, inspired by the patriotic May Fourth Movement, he and his sister and mother, Cai Chang and Ge Jian-hao, along with other revolutionary youths, went to France on work study programs, seeking the revolutionary truth of Marxism. After arriving in France, Cai Hesen spent his time learning French and "voraciously reading and translating" Marxist writings. After only half a year he had already read 100 different works on Marxism and had become a firm Marxist. In July 1920 members of the New People's Student Society studying in France held a meeting in (Montanie) and Cai Hesen put forward what he thought should be the aim of the society: to use Russian methods to reform both China and the world. In a letter written to Mao Zedong in August of the same year he stated, "After comprehensive and careful study of different ideologies, I believe that socialism is the only true cure for the problems of the world and China is certainly no exception to this." "I believe the principles and methods of socialism to be wholly suitable to the future reform of China." Socialism's "important mission is the destruction of the capitalist economic system. This can be achieved through the dictatorship of the proletariat which can use its political power to restructure the economic system." "In my view we must first organize a party--a communist party. This is

because the party is the driving force, the propagandist, the vanguard and combat unit of the revolutionary movement."

In a letter written to Chen Duxiu in February 1921, Cai Hesen stated in an equally clear-cut fashion, "He-sen is a thoroughgoing Marxist. ...Therefore I unequivocally and without exception reject all forms of immature socialism, utopian communism, ignorant anarchism disguised as idealism, syndicalism that concentrates only on economic action, goethean socialism which seeks to prolong capitalist government by reconciling labor and capital, and revisionist socialism."

As a student in France, Cai Hesen guided many members of the New People's Student Society and other revolutionary youth towards Marxism; he also joined Zhou Enlai and Zhao Shiyen in forming the early party organization, the Communist Youth League. In the second half of 1921, however, the struggle for "the right to live and the right to study" and opposition to the Sino-French education committee led to the arrest by the French Government and deportation under armed guard of Cai Hesen, Li Lisan, Chen Yi and another 104 Chinese studying in France.

Not long after his return to Shanghai in November 1921, Cai Hesen, under the sponsorship of Chen Duxiu and Chen Gongpei, became a member of the Chinese Communist Party and began doing propaganda work for the party's Central Committee.

An Outstanding Theoretician and Brilliant Leader of the Mass Revolutionary Movement

In July 1922, Cai Hesen attended the Chinese Communist Party's Second Congress, held in Shanghai, and having been asked to participate in the drafting of the congress' political manifesto, he formulated the party's revolutionary guiding program of thoroughgoing opposition to imperialism and feudalism. At each of the party congresses between the second congress and the sixth congress, Cai Hesen was selected as a Central Committee member and after the second congress he also acted as chief editor for the organ of the party's Central Committee, the weekly publication "GUIDE." In this weekly journal he published a large number of theoretically forceful articles that were filled with revolutionary enthusiasm. They not only propagated the direction and policy of Marxism and the party and exposed and criticized the reactionary propaganda of enemies but also criticized all forms of erroneous thinking in the revolutionary camp itself. The journal "GUIDE" was well-received right from the start and was seen by the broad masses of the people as the "dawn" that would illuminate China's long dark night and was certainly not unworthy of being called the "GUIDE" of the Chinese people's thinking. Within the space of a few years the number of copies of "GUIDE" published each week rose from several thousand to over 100,000.

The first great high tide of China's new democratic revolution had arrived. On 15 June 1925 the capitalists of the Japanese cotton factories opened fire on the workers, killing several. The Communist Party member Gu Zhenghong roused the working classes of Shanghai and the whole nation to angry indignation. The mass revolutionary movement inexorable approached its high tide. On 28 June the party's Central Committee held an emergency session at which Cai Hesen presented a detailed analysis of the favorable situation and put forward a new strategic plan. This plan insisted that the opportunity should not be lost and that the

anti-imperialist struggle of the workers and students in Shanghai should be extended throughout the whole nation to form a national anti-imperialist movement. The crux of the matter lay in supporting the continued struggle of the striking workers and in uniting the anti-imperialist struggle of the students and workers together in a flourishing anti-imperialist movement of industrial, commercial and academic circles. He said, "as the vanguard of the working class we should lead this class and all the people in their struggle against imperialism. We must go into the factories, schools and shops and organize and mobilize all levels of the masses for a mass anti-imperialist demonstration in the foreign concessions on 30 May. This will deal a head-on blow to imperialism. However, Cai Hesen's corrent recommendations were fiercely attacked by Chen Duxiu who, believing them to be "empty and unrealistic talk," asserted catagorically, "the demonstration should be counted as a success if only 300 to 500 take part. We will be able to make a real breakthrough!" Cai Hesen roundly refuted this erroneous argument right away, pointing out that this was "a short-sighted view that ignores the overall revolutionary situation now developing and fails to take the mood of the masses into account. The anti-imperialist struggle now being carried out is not a struggle of 300 to 500 people but is the struggle of 30,000 to 50,000 people; this movement must be promoted throughout the whole nation." The majority of comrades at the meeting agreed with Cai Hesen's recommendations and passed the resolution to "extend the anti-imperialist movement and organize the 30 May mass demonstration." They also decided to launch a propaganda and organizational drive in order to win over support from each level of society. After the meeting Cai Hesen, Li Lisan, Liu Shaoqi, Xiang Jingyu and others all threw themselves into propaganda and organization work among the masses, and, as Cai Hesen had predicted, the leadership of the party led the successful launching of a mammoth anti-imperialist demonstration of 30 May, with over 100,000 students and workers taking to the streets.

On the evening of 30 May the party's Central Committee called another emergency meeting to discuss their next move. At this meeting Cai Hesen insisted that in view of the situation at that time it was necessary to rally the masses further by organizing an enormous and powerful anti-imperialist army and by promoting the struggle of the "three strikes"--workers' strikes, students' strikes and shopkeepers' strikes. The party's Central Committee adopted these correct suggestions of Cai Hesen: The scope of the anti-imperialist movement was rapidly extended, the struggle of the "three strikes" was widely promoted, and the workers, shopkeepers and students of Shanghai established a united union. Anti-imperialist demonstrations rapidly spread over the whole nation, hitting large and middle-sized towns, with the total number of participants reaching 12 million. The 30 May mass demonstrations became the starting point for the first great high tide of China's new democratic revolution. This high tide of revolutionary activity shook the very foundations of the reactionary rule of imperialism and feudalism in China. Moreover, this movement proved that Cai Hesen was not only one of our party's outstanding Marxist theoreticians but was also an outstanding revolutionary leader.

Advancing the Correct Policy of 'Using Violence Against Violence'

In October 1925 the party's Central Committee decided that Cai Hesen should need the Chinese Communist Party's delegation to the sixth enlarged session of the

Communist International Executive Committee in Moscow. After the meeting ended in March 1926, Cai Hesen stayed on in Moscow as the Chinese delegate to the Communist International and it was not until March 1927 that he returned home. During this period he continued his theoretical and propaganda work. Particularly important was the long 50,000-character report which he presented at a meeting of the Russian branch of the Chinese Communist Party in the first half of 1926. This report, entitled "The History of the Chinese Communist Party's Development," offered a systematic review and summary of the party's circumstances, experience and lessons during the period from the first to the fourth congress. This was the first work on the history of the Chinese Communist Party. In this work Cai Hesen divided for the first time China's new democratic revolution into two phases: The "old phase" before "May fourth" and the "new phase of the revolutionary movement" after "May fourth." He also correctly expounded the historical mission of the party, explaining that as the vanguard of the proletariat the Communist Party should lead the democratic and socialist revolutions onto victory. He said, "Analysis of the Chinese Communist Party's history shows that both objective and subjective conditions call for a solid class to act as the leading force for the Chinese revolution. The period following 'May fourth' in particular proves that the party which guided revolution in the past is no longer of any use. We need a new party and new methods to unite and organize all sections of the masses in opposition to imperialism and the warlords and to carry revolution through to the end, leading the proletariat forward towards liberation. This is the historical mission and political responsibility that should be borne by the Chinese Communist Party."

In March 1927, at the moment of crisis for China's first great revolution, Cai Hesen returned to the motherland. By the beginning of April he had reached Wuhan where the Central Committee was at that time. On 12 April Jiang Jieshi launched his counterrevolutionary coup in Shanghai. In the face of the reactionaries' furious offensive, however, the party's general secretary Chen Duxiu, the Soviet advisor Borodin and the representative of the Communist International Louis stubbornly upheld the rightist capitulationist policy of compromise and concession. Believing that the worker-peasant movement was "too extreme," they spared no effort in trying to establish good relations with "leftist" members of the Kuomintang, such as Wang Jingwei and Tang Shengzhi. It was under these conditions that the party's fifth congress opened in Wuhan on 27 April. Cai Hesen, along with other representatives, struggled resolutely against the rightist capitulationism of Chen Duxiu. At this congress Cai Hesen was again selected as a member of the Central Committee. In addition to acting as head of the Central Committee's propaganda bureau he was also made a member of the party's Political Bureau. The Central Committee also decided that Zhou Enlai should become secretary general of the Central Committee and that Cai Hesen was to act on his behalf until he could take up his new office.

When Xia Douyin and Xu Kexiang, who were high-ranking military officials under Tang Shengzhi's command, launched counterrevolutionary plots in Hubei's I-chang and Hunan's Changsha on 18 and 21 May of the same year, Cai Hesen repeatedly called for a strong counterattack and advocated using violence against violence as the best way of calming the reactionaries' arrogant bluster. His correct suggestions, however, were never accepted. Moreover, on 24 June the party's Central Committee decided that Cai Hesen should no longer act on Zhou Enlai's behalf as general secretary of the Central Committee.

Because of this Cai Hesen took sick leave and went to recuperate in Mao Zedong's residence in Wuchang, where he met the peasant representatives who came each day asking Mao Zedong to launch a counterattack against the murderous reactionaries. This strengthened his conviction that his advocacy of "using violence against violence" was correct. On 25 June, Cai Hesen, who was still at Mao Zedong's residence, wrote a letter to the standing committee of the Central Committee, pointing out, "while the reactionary attitude of Tang Shengzhi has been obvious since his return to Hunan, we continue to sit back and patiently wait for others to act. This is as perilous as a fish swimming in the bottom of a cooking pot." He suggested "the Central Committee and army headquarters should immediately examine their own military strength and draw up a military plan in order to prepare for all eventualities." After this Cai Hesen wrote several other letters advocating similar suggestions to the Central Committee standing committee. However, the leaders of the Central Committee, who steadfastly upheld the rightist policy of capitulationism, not only refused to accept these suggestions but even began to attack Cai Hesen for "writing shrill, moralistic letters every day" and for engaging in "leftist" propaganda. On 30 June an enlarged meeting of the CCP Central Committee passed a resolution concerning the relationship between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang seeking to win over Wang Jingwei by means of collaborationist concessions. The result of this resolution was that Wang Jingwei merely increased his brazen efforts to "split the Communists," revealing the complete bankruptcy of the rightist opportunist line of Chen Duxiu. On 12 July the Central Committee was finally reorganized in accordance with a directive issued by the executive committee of the Communist International. Chen Duxiu was suspended from his duties, while Louis and Borodin were both recalled to the Soviet Union. On 13 July the new Central Committee issued a manifesto condemning the reactionary crimes of the Kuomintang's Central Committee and government in Wuhan and called for the withdrawal of all Communist party members from the Kuomintang government. Working closely together, the government of Wang Jingwei in Wuhan and the Kuomintang in Nanjing launched a reactionary coup on 15 July which signaled the final defeat of the first great revolution.

In order to rescue the revolutionary cause and put an end to the erroneous rightist line of Chen Duxiu, the provisional standing committee of the party Central Committee in Hankou secretly called an emergency meeting on 7 August. This meeting decided to adopt the correct policy of armed opposition to the Kuomintang's reactionary rule. Cai Hesen took part in this meeting and joined Mao Zedong, Ren Bishi, Qu Qiubai and Deng Zhongxia in criticizing the rightist capitulationism of Chen Duxiu. At the meeting Cai Hesen strongly suggested that Mao Zedong, who had taken a correct stand and struggled resolutely against rightist opportunism, should be chosen to join the party's Political Bureau. He also requested that he himself be sent to Hunan to organize the autumn harvest uprising in the border area of Hunan and Jiangxi. The meeting also dismissed Chen Duxiu from his leadership post and selected a provisional Political Bureau composed of Su Zhaozheng, Qu Qiubai, Luo Yinong, Peng Bai and others as members and Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Deng Zhongxia as alternate members. However, the leaders of the Central Committee did not send Cai Hesen to Hunan to lead the autumn harvest uprising, but decided instead that he should go to the northern district as a special appointee of the Central Committee and guide the party's work in the area.

Not long after the "7 August" meeting Cai Hesen arrived in Beijing and Tianjin from Wuhan and set about reviving the northern area's organization. On 10 September he wrote a public announcement for the northern area entitled "Concerning the Resolution of the '7 August' emergency meeting of the Central Committee to Open Inner-Party Discussion." On the 22d of the same month the Communist Party's provincial committee in Shunzhi (Hebei) called a reorganizational meeting, at which Cai Hesen promoted the spirit of the "7 August" meeting and made a long report on "The History of Opportunism in the Party." The complete text of this report was published in July 1928. It was an important theoretical and historical work and offered a detailed, lively and in-depth discussion of the history of opportunism in the party during the first revolutionary period. It is also an important document for research into the history of the Chinese Communist Party.

The Disequilibrium of China's Revolutionary Development and the Possibility of an Armed Independent Regime

During June and July 1926 the Chinese Communist Party held its sixth congress in Moscow. Cai Hesen gave several speeches at the congress, summarizing the historical experiences of the party during the first revolutionary period and the initial period of agrarian revolutionary war. These speeches raised two points that are of particular interest.

First of all, he criticized the putschist assessment of the situation and stressed the disequilibrium in China's revolutionary development. He said that he "felt it was wrong" of Qu Qiubai's political report to say that the tide of revolution was "continuing to rise" and insisted that this type of analysis is neither Leninist nor Marxist. Continuous revolution theory analysis was put forward by our bearded Comrade (Lominadze) after the "7 August" meeting and has been used by the party ever since." The mistake of this analysis was that it "one-sidedly denies the strength and effect of the enemy. It sees only the enemy's weaknesses and fails to see their strengths and estimates only one's own strengths and fails to estimate one's own weaknesses." "We are Marxists, and during our struggle with the enemy we must estimate both the enemy's strengths and our own weaknesses. To ignore this would be as good as helping the enemy to come and destroy us." At the same time, however, Cai Hesen also opposed the position of Zhang Guotao, who "completely denied the possibility of any immediate revolutionary situation." Cai Hesen said, "desiring to solve this problem, we should first of all ask whether or not this so-called immediate revolutionary situation has any definite limits? Do these limits include the whole nation or are they restricted to a small area?... Disequilibrium is a special characteristic of China's revolutionary development, and this uneven development is, of course, a critical problem in any assessment of the revolutionary situation. If we ignore this point we shall find ourselves following the paths of either extreme leftism or extreme rightism. Certainly, we can see that in certain areas revolutionary development is on the rise; for example, the upsurge in the morale and struggle of the peasantry in Guangdong, Hunan, Hubei and Jiangxi... Is this the same, however, as saying that there is an immediate revolutionary situation throughout the nation? Facts tell us that this is not the case." On the basis of this, Cai Hesen reached the conclusion that, "while the congress should certainly not relax its opposition to rightist opportunism it must at the same time continue

its opposition to putschism." "I recommend that the congress get rid of all these bad things from the past. The theory of continuous revolution should be done away with in particular. Only when this has been done will our party be able to follow the true Bolshevik path."

Second, understand the disequilibrium in China's revolutionary development, Cai Hesen was able to push the argument one step further, insisting that armed struggle could be carried out in the peasant villages and that it would be possible to set up a red army and establish an armed independent regime. "The important tactical question we should first ask about guerrilla warfare is whether or not guerrilla warfare is the peasant movement's main form of struggle. It is the main form. This is true not only in the north and south but we can see from the facts that no matter where a peasant movement may start up it quickly turns into an armed struggle. Acute class struggle will invariably move in this direction. Now, let us look at several aspects of this: (1) The form of guerrilla struggle and the scattered struggle can easily be broken up and destroyed by the enemy. (2) What can guerrilla struggle achieve? It was said before that a slightly larger guerrilla struggle could lead to the establishment of a separatist regime. To be able to realistically say that a red army can be set up and that the enemy forces will crumble is not simply a matter of arming and organizing the peasants into a red army but is also a question of the future of guerrilla struggle." "As far as the questions of political power and the allocation of land are concerned, I disagree with the view of Guotao that the reallocation of land must take on a national character. As soon as the peasants have overthrown the evil gentry and seized political power in the villages they will be able to expropriate the land. In the course of the struggle it is not only possible but also necessary that political authority be established and land seized in certain areas." Conscientiously summing up the actual experience of the agrarian revolutionary war's initial period, Cai Hesen had already come very close to reaching the same conclusion as Mao Zedong about an "armed independent regime of peasants and workers."

Suffering An Attack From Within the Party and Dying Heroically for the Revolution

At the party's sixth congress in Moscow, Cai Hesen was again elected as a member of the Central Committee. A plenary session of the Central Committee allowed him to continue as a member of the Political Bureau and as head of the propaganda bureau. Immediately after the sixth congress Cai Hesen and Li Lisan both returned home. In October 1928 the Kuomintang used the commemoration day of the 1911 revolution as a pretext for a long article discussing how the task that had begun with the 1911 revolution had been completed and how class cooperation, the constitution of five powers and so forth were the important tasks at hand now that China had been "unified." Cai Hesen composed a piece entitled "The Commemoration of the 1911 Revolution Under the Antirevolutionary Rule of the Kuomintang" refuting the Kuomintang's deceptive propaganda.

In November 1928 Cai Hesen published "The Nature and Future of the Chinese Revolution," which offered a profound analysis of the nature and special characteristics of the Chinese revolution, the revolutionary transformation, the important position of the peasantry in revolution and other questions. He noted: "The Chinese revolution belongs to a period of world proletarian socialist revolution and is

obviously a part of this world revolution." "The Chinese proletariat's carrying the bourgeois revolution for democratic rights through to the end will inevitably mark the beginning of the socialist transformation. Political power in the Soviets based on the dictatorship of the worker's and peasant's democratic rights will become the lynchpin of and also the basic condition for this transformation." Practice has shown that Cai Hesen's theory of revolutionary transformation was wholly correct and is a component part of our party's correct theory.

Not long after this, owing to the effects of the struggle within the Soviet Communist Party against Bukharin, Cai Hesen was mistakenly attacked from within the party. Soon after the sixth congress of the Communist International had drawn to a close in Moscow, news of the opposition to Bukharin's so-called rightist opportunism spread to China. Li Lisan, who held the actual power at that time, mechanically copied the Russian example, whipping up opposition to "rightism" in the Chinese Communist Party. The spearhead of the attack was first of all directed against Cai Hesen, with his support of the sixth congress' resolutions and his correct opposition to any risky assault on the large cities being mistakenly attacked as "rightist" errors. Furthermore, he was suspended from his duties as a member of the Central Committee's Political Bureau and as head of the propaganda bureau. Facts have proved, however, that the criticism and punishment of Cai Hesen were completely wrong.

Even though Cai Hesen was subjected to such a severe and mistaken attack he neither became pessimistic nor lost hope, but maintained the correct Marxist attitude and struggled on. After this an asthma attack forced him to leave the Central Committee but he continued his theoretical work while trying to regain his health.

Toward the end of 1928 Cai Hesen's illness was becoming more and more serious and the party decided to send him to Moscow to seek a cure; he was also named as a member of the delegation to the Communist International. After arriving in Moscow, Cai Hesen continued to work hard for the party, ignoring his serious illness. In late 1929 and early 1930 he took part in several debates organized by the international concerning the opportunism of Chen Duxiu and the political line of Li Lisan. In 1931 a speech Cai Hesen had made in April 1929 criticizing Chen Duxiu's mistakes was edited and published in full with the title "On Chen Duxiuism."

While affirming Cai Hesen's important theoretical contribution, however, we should also mention that his views on certain questions were incorrect. For example, he underestimated the effects of Sun Yat-sen's revolution; and owing to the influence of the leftist mood that prevailed at that time in the Soviet Union, the Communist International and the Chinese Communist Party, Cai Hesen mistakenly saw Jiang Jieshi as the representative of the Kuomintang capitalist class and believed that since Jiang Jieshi had betrayed the revolution, the Kuomintang capitalist class would always oppose revolution. He exaggerated the significance of the two-line struggle, mistakenly believing that "all erroneous deviations can lead eventually to Chen Duxiuism." He also ignored the fact that the party's main internal problem was one of "leftist" mistakes and repeatedly emphasized that "the main danger facing the Chinese revolution and our party is the danger of rightism." In spite of all this, however, it should be said that these

shortcomings and mistakes are only of secondary importance in the writings of Cai Hesen and that the theoretical legacy he has left for us is an extremely valuable one.

Following a directive from the party's Central Committee, Cai Hesen returned to China from Moscow in the beginning of 1931 and threw himself into the new struggle. However, after returning to Shanghai he continued to be the target of mistaken harassment and attacks from leaders who had been influenced by Wang Ming's new "leftism." They not only failed to restore him to his old post as member of the Central Committee's Political Bureau but also rejected his demand to go and work in the central Soviet area. Soon after this he was sent to Hong Kong to guide the work of Guangdong's provincial party committee. He arrived in Hong Kong in March and began doing important organizational and mass work for the party. Not long after this the Communist International sent a telegram informing Cai Hesen that he had been reinstated as a member of the Political Bureau. Unfortunately, he never received the news and on 10 June he was betrayed by a traitor at a meeting of the seamen's union and was arrested.

After the arrest of Cai Hesen the party immediately did all it could to rescue him, but in no time at all the imperialist British authorities in Hong Kong permitted his extradition to the reactionary Kuomintang government in Guangdong. Cai Hesen was savagely tortured by Kuomintang reactionaries repeatedly falling unconscious while being beaten to a bloody pulp. He remained faithful and unyielding, however, throughout the ordeal, refusing to reveal any of the information the enemy hoped to obtain. On an early winter's day of that same year a collection of spies and bandits dragged Cai Hesen to the outer wall of the prison, and, having stretched out his arms and legs, they used several large steel nails to pin his body to the wall. They then proceeded to stab him with bayonets, tearing his chest to shreds. Cai Hesen, however, fierce-browed and coldly defiant, died a hero's death. Cai Hesen's resolution to die heroically for the communist cause fully demonstrates the earth-shaking and tragic heroism of a communist party member.

Although Cai Hesen is no longer with us, his lofty and constant revolutionary spirit, his great achievements and the valuable theoretical riches he left behind will live on forever. Each future age and generation of Chinese will always remember and study him.

CSO: 4005/363

PARTY AND STATE

RENMIN RIBAO ARTICLE ON NINGDU UPRISING

HK150900 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Dec 81 p 5

[Article by Ji Pengfei [1213 7720 7378], Huang Zhen [7806 6966], Wang Youping [3769 1635 1627], Li Da [2621 6671], Sun Yi [1327 3015] and Su Jin [5685 6651]: "In Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Ningdu Uprising"]

[Text] It has been exactly 50 years since the Ningdu uprising. On 14 December 1931, the former Kuomintang 26th route army staged an armed uprising in Ningdu, Jiangxi, and joined the Red army. This was a famous uprising during the period of the second revolutionary civil war. It dealt a telling blow to the Kuomintang reactionaries and greatly inspired the revolutionary people of the whole country. It also contributed significantly toward the strengthening of the rank and file of the Red army and the consolidation and development of the central revolutionary base.

It is not fortuitous that the Ningdu uprising broke out in the 26th route army which had taken part in the battle to "suppress the Communists."

The 26th route army, formerly under the command of Mr Feng Yuxiang, was an outfit which had been exposed to the influence of the great revolution. Comrade Li Dazhao started sending members of the Communist Party to work in Feng's outfit as early as in 1925. Feng also had a number of Soviet advisers and instructors. Later, Comrade Liu Bojian and Comrade Deng Xixian (Xiaoping) and other party members were sent to work in this outfit. Because of them, the political influence of our party was further extended. After the first great revolution failed, a number of overt Communist Party members left this outfit. However, the influence of the great revolution and of our party still remained. Our party and party members never ceased functioning. Comrade Liu Zhenya, staff officer of the headquarters of the 73d brigade, was one of the party members in the 26th route army who had connections with the party organization. Later, he was appointed secretary of the special party branch of that army by the party Central Committee. Comrade Zhao Bosheng, chief of staff of the 26th route army's general headquarters, was also recruited into the party with the approval of the party Central Committee after he came to work in Ningdu.

The 26th route army was an outfit reorganized at the order of Chiang Kai-shek after the defeat of Feng Yuxiang and Yan Xishan in the battle of the central plains jointly fought by them against Chiang Kai-shek. It had to accept very harsh terms and was always regarded by Chiang Kai-shek as a miscellaneous outfit

not under his direct control. With the ulterior motive of luring the tiger out of the mountain and liquidating alien elements, Chiang Kai-shek ordered the 26th route army to leave the north and go to Jiangxi to "suppress the Communists." Thus, the already sharp contradictions between them further intensified. After arriving in Jiangxi, members of this outfit found themselves ill-prepared for the climate of the south. There was a steady depletion in the number of soldiers because epidemics were rife. On top of this, the advance party of the 27th division of the right route army which took part in the second "encirclement and suppression" campaign suffered a telling blow from the Red army. Thus, the officers and men became more and more war-wearied. At this time, the political impact of the agrarian revolution carried out in the central revolutionary base found its way deep into the hearts of the officers and men. The masses of the people in the bases expropriated the land of local tyrants, redistributed the land and won their emancipation. They wholeheartedly supported the Communist Party and the workers and peasants Red army. This living reality laid bare the deceitful propaganda of the Kuomintang and enabled the CCP to strike a sympathetic chord deep in the hearts of rank and file soldiers and junior officers of the 26th route army who came from poor families. Thus, the tendency to fall away became more and more obvious.

Following the outbreak of the "18 September" incident, the national contradiction between the Chinese people and Japanese imperialism became the principal contradiction. In response to the CCP's call to resist the Japanese and save the nation, the people throughout the country quickly started an upsurge of closing ranks against the Japanese. At that time, the officers and men of the 26th route army who were tied down on the frontline of the civil war also demanded that they be allowed to march north so they can take part in defending the motherland and their native villages. However, Chiang Kai-shek continued to clamor about "appeasing the nation before resisting foreign aggression" and "do not lightly talk about resistance" and stubbornly pushed his line of national betrayal and capitulation. In the face of civil war and foreign aggression, the patriotic officers and men of the 26th route army became very indignant. Both their resentment against Chiang Kai-shek and their anti-Japanese feelings surged. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his article "On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism": "When the national crisis reaches a crucial point, splits will occur in the Kuomintang camp." The large-scale armed uprising staged by the 26th route army in Ningdu was one of the most striking examples of this kind of split.

Among the principal leaders of the uprising were Zhao Bosheng, a Communist Party member and chief of staff of the 26th route army's general headquarters; Dong Zhentang, an active follower of our party and commander of the 73d brigade; Ji Zhentong, commander of the 74th brigade; and Huang Zhongyue, a commander of the brigade's 1st regiment. After a period of secret fomentation and planning under the leadership of the party and after establishing actual contacts with the Red army, Zhao Dong, Ji and Huang resolutely decided to seize the favorable opportunity afforded by the absence of Sun Lianzhong, commander in chief of the 26th route army, and Gao Shuxun, commander of the 27th division, to stage the uprising on the afternoon of 14 December. The organizational work of the uprising was very carefully planned. That afternoon, Zhao Dong, Ji and Huang acted in accordance with the plan which they had already agreed upon and ordered the main force of the insurgent troops--the units directly under the 74th and 73d brigades--to

seize control of radio stations, command organs and other vital departments. At the same time, they invited all commanding officers at and above the regimental level to a banquet hosted by Chief of Staff Zhao Bosheng and seized this opportunity to arrest all reactionary officers. They also besieged and disarmed the headquarters of Li Songkun, acting commander in chief of the 26th route army and commander of the 25th division, thus removing the main obstacle to the uprising. Except for a few casualties resulting from the brief exchange of shots during the siege of the headquarters of the 25th division, no other losses were incurred. Thus, they won a big victory under the existing circumstances at little cost. With the exception of Li Songkun, who escaped by climbing over a wall on hearing the shots, and a regiment stationed at Beishishang in the city of Ningdu which was unable to take part due to distance, the entire 26th route army, including 1 army, 2 divisions and 6 brigades directly under the 26th route, and 11 complete regiments, showed up with more than 20,000 weapons of various types and took part in the uprising. At the welcoming party held in Guhou, Comrade Liu Bojian highly praised the great victory and success of this large-scale uprising. He quoted Lenin as saying: "Insurgency is an art." On behalf of the central government and the central military committee of the Chinese Soviet, he designated the insurgent troops as the 5th Red army group and appointed Ji Zhentong as commander in chief of the group, Dong Zhentang as deputy commander in chief and concurrently commander of the 13th army, Zhao Bosheng as chief of staff of the group and concurrently commander of the 14th army, and Huang Zhongyue as commander of the 15th army. Thus, a staunch backbone fighting force of the Red army gloriously was born amidst the storms of the revolution.

After the founding of the 5th Red army group, the party Central Committee sent Xiao Jingguang to be political commissar and Liu Bohian to be director of the political department of the group. It also sent a large number of outstanding political work cadres to strengthen the leadership of the group at all levels. Comrades Dong Zhentang and Ji Zhentong also joined the party. Under the kind attention of the party Central Committee and the energetic support of the masses in the central revolutionary base, the group assumed a brand new look after a short period of education, reorganization and remolding. In no time, it began to fight shoulder to shoulder with its fraternal units and played an active part in the campaigns against "encirclement and suppression." In 1932, the young 5th Red army group successively took part in several major campaigns, such as those fought in Gongzhou, Longyan, Zhangzhou and Shuikou. It managed to win a great victory in each of these campaigns. In the Shuikou campaign in particular, the 5th army group fiercely fought against the enemy and displayed great heroism and tenacity in its style of combat. In January 1933, the group took part in the Huangshidu campaign to defend the central revolutionary base. Comrade Zhao Bosheng personally directed the operations on the frontline and heroically laid down his life. In the fourth campaign against "encirclement and suppression," the 5th Red army group took part in the battles of Huangpo and Dongpo. In close coordination with the 1st and 3d army groups, the 5th army group wiped out the 52d division, 59th division, 11th division and other units directly under Chiang Kai-shek's control, killed divisional Commander Li Ming, captured divisional Commander Chen Shiji and victoriously smashed the enemy's "encirclement and suppression." After this countercampaign, the 5th army group marched eastward to Fujian and attacked Shunchang. When the group returned to Jiangxi in the fall, the enemy was carrying out its fifth "encirclement and suppression"

campaign. In the face of an enemy which enjoyed absolute preponderance, the group fought heroically and stubbornly resisted attacks. Fighting was frequent and life was extremely hard. The vast number of commanders and fighters always maintained high and exuberant combat morale. This fully showed that the group had become much stronger after going through the tempering of revolutionary wars. Unfortunately, under the influence of Wang Ming's left opportunist line, Comrades Ji Zhentong and Huang Zhongyue were framed and eventually both died without having their grievances redressed.

In the long march of 25,000 li, the 5th Red army group served as the rear guard from beginning to end and played an important role in ensuring the safe movement of the whole army. In the early period of the long march when the enemy had erected circles of blockade in southern Jiangxi, northern Guangdong and southern Hunan, the 5th army group was responsible for covering the main body of the Red army in breaking the encirclement and marching westward. It fulfilled this task remarkably well. After the Zunyi Conference the 1st and 3d army groups wiped out two enemy divisions and eight enemy regiments in the recapture of Loushanguan and Zunyi and won their first major victory following the long march. In these campaigns, the 5th army group was responsible for pinning down the enemy. One of its regiments successfully pinned down 9 enemy regiments for 7 days and nights. When the Red army fought its way across the Jinsha River, the 5th army group heroically blocked the pursuing enemy and held its position for 9 days and nights, thus enabling the main body of the Red army to successfully cross the river. After the 1st and 4th front army joined forces, a detachment of the 5th army group which was charged with the duty of protecting the party Central Committee and shielding fraternal units which were taking rests and undergoing reorganization defied difficulties and dangers and crossed the snow-covered Jiajin mountain three times. On account of Zhang Guotao's splittist line, the commanders and fighters of the 5th Red army group had to go through all kinds of hardships and difficulties and were made to cross the remote and uninhabited vast grassland three times. When they arrived in southern Gansu after crossing the vast grassland for the third time, Zhang Guotao again ordered them to march on to Hexi, where they were eventually defeated. In the battle of Gaotai, Comrade Dong Zhentang led his men to heroically resist enemy troops 10 times their number. In the end, ammunition and food supplies ran out and he laid down his life. "Heroes died fighting for the wrong cause." (Note: On 20 January 1937, Comrade Dong Zhentang heroically laid down his life in Gantai, Gansu. Comrade Ye Jianying wrote a poem to cherish the memory of this martyr on Army Day 1962. The original poem, entitled "Comrade Dong Zhentang," reads: "Heroes died fighting for the wrong cause. This makes me think of Dong Zhentang with great longing. Good and bad men come and go, but you will always be held in honor because of Gaotai.") This lesson written in blood is a further proof that only Mao Zedong thought could guide the Chinese revolution to victory. The party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong both deeply cherished the memory of and highly appraised those comrades of the 5th army group who had heroically laid down their lives. The indelible contributions made by the 5th Red army group toward the cause of the Chinese revolution and the revolutionary heroism displayed by the commanders and fighters of the 5th Red army group will go down in the annals of history.

Fifty years ago when the country was plagued by civil war and foreign aggression and the nation was in a precarious situation, the officers and men who took part

in the Ningdu uprising displayed a high sense of patriotism in resolving to cross over to the side of progress, staging an armed uprising and joining the revolutionary ranks to save the nation from the abyss of suffering. In the decades that followed, their experience charted the road for the Chinese people to seek liberation under the leadership of the CCP and for the Chinese nation to achieve self-determination.

Today, as we commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Ningdu uprising, earth-shaking changes are taking place in our country. After it was decided at the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee that our party was to shift the focus of its work, China's revolutionary cause entered a new historical period of development. Later, the sixth plenary session adopted the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" and exposed and criticized the "leftist" mistakes in guiding ideology. Work on every front is now imbued with new vitality. The unfulfilled dreams of the martyrs are now being turned into reality by the collective endeavor of our party and people. In the early period of the anti-Japanese war when Comrade Mao Zedong received some of the comrades who had taken part in the Ningdu uprising, he wrote these words of encouragement: "If we apply the spirit of the Ningdu uprising to oppose Japanese imperialism, we will be invincible." In commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Ningdu uprising, we must learn from and carry forward the spirit of this uprising to achieve the four modernizations, fulfill the great cause of reunification and defend world peace.

The Ningdu uprising displayed a high degree of national dignity and national confidence. The comrades who took part in the uprising opposed foreign aggression and opposed capitulation and national betrayal. They saw in the central revolutionary base a "new world" of people's liberation and were convinced that this "new world" will definitely come into being throughout all of China. Therefore, they did not hesitate to fight for it even though it meant they would have to shed their blood or lay down their lives. Today, in our endeavor to build a highly developed socialist spiritual civilization and material civilization, we must convince ourselves that the Chinese nation can stand on its own feet in the family of nations and that the great goal of socialist modernization can be achieved, and we must make unremitting efforts toward this goal.

The Ningdu uprising displayed a high degree of patriotism because its purpose was to unite the country and achieve national solidarity and oppose civil war and splits. The comrades who took part in the uprising did not want to help the warlords compete for spheres of influence. They did not want to serve as lackeys of imperialism, nor to become cannon fodder. This shows that our nation has great consolidation power. Today, we must carry forward this kind of patriotic spirit which puts the fundamental interests of the country and the nation above everything else, resolutely carry out the nine-point policy concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland elaborated by Chairman Ye Jianying on 30 September, and work together with compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and overseas Chinese residing in foreign countries for the reunification of the country and the solidarity of the nation.

The Ningdu uprising played the tenacious fighting spirit of overcoming all difficulties to victory. The comrades who took part in the uprising went

through all kinds of hardships and difficulties and surmounted one obstacle after another in order to oppose Chiang Kai-shek, resist Japanese aggression and cross over to the bright side. They stepped into the breach as another fell and kept on fighting in spite of setbacks in order to lead the Chinese people's revolution to victory. It was precisely with this spirit that the Chinese nation was able to withstand all foreign invasions and achieve unprecedented development and progress in spite of the great disasters it suffered in the last century. This shows the unyielding ability of our nation to survive.

Today, we must carry forward this spirit, defy intimidation and provocation from hegemonism and contribute our share toward safeguarding national security and defending world peace.

We have already opened up a socialist "new world" with our blood and we are now working very hard to develop and defend this "new world." We firmly believe that under the correct leadership of the CCP, the great Chinese nation will forever be consolidated. A prosperous, powerful and modern socialist country with a high degree of democracy and civilization will forever stand towering like a giant in the East.

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PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE ON MAO THOUGHT ON NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE

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[Article by Sun Qimeng, deputy secretary general of the CPPCC National Committee: "On An Important Component of Mao Zedong Thought--Theory and Policy With Regard to National-Capitalist Industry and Commerce and the National Bourgeoisie"]

[Text] At the very beginning of our country's socialist revolution period, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people were faced with a new historical task: to replace the capitalist system of ownership with the socialist system of ownership and eliminate the national bourgeoisie. This was an arduous and complicated task. It was also a task that needed fulfillment because, as everyone knew, socialism was meant to eliminate the capitalist system of exploitation and the national bourgeoisie as an exploiting class. If this task was not to be accomplished, there would be no socialism to talk about. Facts have shown that our party has led the Chinese people in accomplishing the great historical task in an exceptionally successful way.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" accurately states: During the period of transition, our party creatively charted a course for socialist transformation that suited China's specific conditions. In dealing with capitalist industry and commerce, we devised a whole series of transitional forms of state capitalism from lower to higher levels, such as the placing of state orders with private enterprises for the processing of materials or the manufacture of goods, state monopoly of the purchase and marketing of the products of private enterprise, the marketing of products of state-owned enterprises by private shops, and joint state-private ownership of individual enterprises or enterprises of a whole trade, and we eventually realized the peaceful redemption of the bourgeoisie, a possibility envisaged by Marx and Lenin.

How well did we accomplish the task of eliminating the national bourgeoisie? It was a fact for all to see. In 1956, we completed in the main the change to replace the capitalist system of ownership with the socialist system of ownership of the means of production. In 1966, we abolished the payment of fixed interest to the national bourgeoisie, a vestige of capitalist exploitation. Under such concrete conditions, the capitalist class ceased to exist in our country as a social group. The overwhelming majority of the members of this class who were able to work had already been transformed into workers earning their own living

and were contributing their efforts to the socialist cause of the country. In carrying out this unusually radical social change, not a single shot was fired and no bloodshed took place. Moreover, production and social order had remained normal. This cannot but be called a miracle.

Is the elimination of the capitalist system of exploitation something easy to accomplish after all? Of course not. Is the elimination of the national bourgeoisie a simple thing to do? Certainly not. Many factors contributed to the miracle. One most important factor was that based on the fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism and proceeding from China's actual conditions, the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong formulated a whole series of theories and policies for eliminating step by step national capitalism and the national bourgeoisie. This series of theories and policies constitute an important component of Mao Zedong thought, which is a striking manifestation of the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China.

The overwhelming majority of the comrades of the China Democratic National Construction Association and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce came through it and have personal experiences and understandings. The comrades say with one voice: Without the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao, the former industrialists and businessmen could not be what they are today. Without the guidance of Mao Zedong thought, the former industrialists and businessmen could not be what they are today.

Here, I shall only briefly mention five relevant important questions. If these questions were not correctly settled in theory and practice, the history of new China in the past 31 years, at least the history in this connection, would have to be rewritten. To solve these important questions, there are no readymade answers in the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. It is the Chinese Communists, with Comrade Mao Zedong as their outstanding representative, who correctly solved these questions by integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and wrote one of the most brilliant chapters in the history of socialism in our country and the world.

What are these five important questions? First, it must be noted that the bourgeoisie's nature and characteristic is to exploit the working class for profit. There is no doubt about this. The question is: Are all bourgeoisie the same regardless of concrete historical environments and concrete historical conditions? Is it possible to further analyze the bourgeoisie's characteristics in countries oppressed by imperialism and in colonial and semicolonial countries?

Even during the period of the new democratic revolution, the Chinese Communists represented by Comrade Mao Zedong divided the bourgeoisie in China into two parts. The first article in "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," entitled "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society," makes a distinction between the comprador class and the middle bourgeoisie. This was an incisive Marxist view. Of course, in his later works, Chairman Mao more thoroughly and completely expanded on this view. A question worth asking is, when our country entered the socialist period, was this view advanced by Comrade Mao Zedong still valid? Was it out of date?

Our country was in the midst of socialist revolution, and there were many revolutionary tasks. The most important task was to eliminate the bourgeoisie and replace the capitalist system of ownership with the socialist system of ownership. If this task was not fulfilled, there would have been no socialist revolution. Without such a socialist revolution, it would have been impossible to launch socialist construction in an all-round way. This being the case, very acute and sensitive questions were raised in theories and policies. Was there no difference between the national bourgeoisie and the big bourgeoisie? Was the theory of dividing the bourgeoisie into two parts--the theory that had played a great guiding role during the period of the new democratic revolution--out of date, or was it still valid? It should be noted that the Chinese Communist Party gave an unequivocal answer to these questions, and that practice has proven it to be completely correct. And in solving these questions, the Chinese party had many outstanding leaders. Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions should be considered as being of first importance.

The second question is: What is the special feature that distinguishes the comprador bourgeoisie from the national bourgeoisie? Comrade Mao Zedong provided a Marxist answer to this question saying that the national bourgeoisie has two sides to its character. This was Comrade Mao Zedong's creative theory with which he enriched and developed the glorious thinking of Marxism-Leninism. That is Mao Zedong thought.

The theory that the national bourgeoisie has two sides to its character was proven correct in the stage of China's new democratic revolution. The question is whether or not the national bourgeoisie still has two sides to its character in the socialist stage? If the answer is affirmative, what is the basic feature of this dual character?

If one has a dogmatic attitude toward Marxism, one would have difficulty in answering this question. However, Comrade Mao Zedong provided a firm and clear-cut answer to this question. In his article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," he analyzed the dual character of the national bourgeoisie during the democratic revolution. With a view to historical materialism, he pointed out: During the period of socialist revolution, the national bourgeoisie still had a dual character. It supported the constitution and showed a willingness to accept socialist transformation. That was its positive side. It also exploited the workers to make profits. That was the other side.

Comrade Mao Zedong's thesis on the dual character of the national bourgeoisie served to criticize the erroneous leftist view and at the same time refute the erroneous rightist concept. It was the product of his struggle against the erroneous leftist and rightist views.

What was the erroneous leftist view? To make it simple and clear, it denied that the national bourgeoisie had any positive side; in other words, that the national bourgeoisie did not have two sides to its character but only one side.

At the same time, Chairman Mao also refuted the erroneous rightist view that prevailed in 1956 after the transformation of privately owned enterprises into

joint state-private enterprises. That view held that industrial and commercial enterprises no longer had two sides to their character. They only had the positive side, not the negative side.

There is an important passage in Chairman Mao's article, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," that dwells on the question of industrialists and businessmen. This passage refutes that kind of rightist view claiming that the national bourgeoisie had only one side to its character. The passage adheres to the Marxist concept that the national bourgeoisie still had two sides to its character.

The third question concerning the transformation of national-capitalist industry and commerce is: As exploiters, can national bourgeoisie members be transformed into working people? It does not seem to be a problem in view of the actual conditions at present. However, if we review our history, we realize that it is not such an easy question to answer. There are many people who have expressed doubts on this question.

Comrade Mao Zedong had repeatedly pointed out, men can be remolded. On the eve of the founding of new China, he had said that when private enterprises are nationalized, it will be necessary to educate and remold the national bourgeoisie. In 1956 after the joint state-private enterprises were set up, Comrade Mao Zedong clearly pointed out: Members of the national bourgeoisie have already become managerial personnel in joint state-private enterprises and are being transformed from exploiters into working people living by their own labor. When they receive no fixed rate of interest and cut themselves loose from the roots of exploitation, their bourgeoisie label will be removed. That means the transformation from exploiters into working people living by their own labor. Here, Comrade Mao Zedong not only reaffirmed this basic transformation, but also pointed out the criterion in changing the class status. Although Comrade Mao Zedong did not say much on this subject, his view entirely tallied with Leninism.

The fourth important question is: What methods and policies do we use in substituting the capitalist ownership system with the socialist ownership system? According to Comrade Mao Zedong's theory and thought, there are at least two fundamental ways. One is the policy of redemption, and the other is national capitalism. The idea of redemption was mentioned in Marxist books before. To receive a fixed rate of interest is a form of redemption. It is a remnant of capitalist exploitation. At the same time, it is also an effective way to separate the capitalist from their original means of production and to further transform and run the enterprises. National capitalism involves the progression from the lower level to the intermediate level and from the intermediate level to the advanced level. The advanced level is the formation of joint state-private enterprises. The transformation of all privately owned enterprises into joint state-private enterprises is the prelude to the nationalization of all enterprises.

The fifth question can be regarded as a new and major one. The question is: How can we correctly deal with the national bourgeoisie without deviating to the left or to the right in the course of socialist revolution? What measures

should we adopt and what policies should we follow to help transform it into a working class? In his article, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Comrade Mao Zedong epitomized the party's policy toward the national bourgeoisie as the policy of uniting, criticizing and educating it. This policy was a clear-cut embodiment of the party's policy of unity and struggle in dealing with the national bourgeoisie under the new historical conditions. The policy of uniting, criticizing and educating the national bourgeoisie is aimed at dual transformation--the transformation of capitalist enterprises into socialist enterprises and the transformation of capitalists into working people. Efforts must be made to combine the transformation of people and enterprises.

In the process of dual transformation, the transformation of enterprises was the foundation. The main purpose was to help the members of the national bourgeoisie remold themselves ideologically during the transition period in China. During that period, the China National Construction Association and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce mainly helped their members remold themselves. This conformed entirely with China's general line for the transition period and tallied with the long-term interests of their members.

To unite, criticize and educate the national bourgeoisie is the policy of the proletariat in China. This is also the duty of the proletariat in China. We have gained important experience in the course of discharging our duty; that is, whenever possible we must turn the proletariat's criticism of the national bourgeoisie into self-criticism and self-education by the national bourgeoisie itself. In this regard, the party has brought into full play the major role of all democratic parties and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce.

In conclusion, the five questions mentioned above--the answers to which are not provided in Marxist works--as well as other questions not mentioned here form the whole set of theories and policies of the Communist Party of China for the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. This is a tremendous contribution from Chairman Mao. All these theories and policies are the results of Comrade Mao Zedong's efforts in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. They have become the major component of Mao Zedong thought. From this, we can realize the tremendous achievements of Comrade Mao Zedong. There is no way that one can possibly deny the great leading role of Mao Zedong thought.

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PARTY AND STATE

CHINA DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE ANNIVERSARY

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[Excerpts] Beijing, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--The Central Committee of the China Democratic League this morning held a meeting at the auditorium of the CPPCC National Committee to celebrate the league's 40th founding anniversary. A message of greetings was delivered at the meeting by Ulanhu on behalf of the CCP Central Committee. He called on the broad masses of Democratic League members to continually carry forward the fine patriotic and revolutionary traditions, give fuller play to their own wisdom and skills, and make still greater efforts to build China, with economic construction as the central task. Greetings were also delivered by the responsible personnel of the CPPCC National Committee, the United Front Work Department of the CCP Central Committee, various democratic parties and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, including Liu Lantao, Li Weihan, Zhuang Xiquan, Wang Kunlun, Hu Juewen, Zhou Gucheng, Xu Boxin, Zhou Peiyuan, Huang Tingchen, Li Chunqing and Hu Ziang.

Speaking at the meeting, Ulanhu, member of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee and head of the United Front Work Department of the party Central Committee, pointed out: The 40-year history of the China Democratic League is a glorious one, a history in which the CDL shared weal and woe, fought shoulder to shoulder and cooperated with the Communist Party. Having successfully undergone a tortuous course, the China Democratic League today has become a political league composed of socialist laborers and patriots who favor socialism and also a political force serving the interests of socialism. The league itself will play an increasingly greater role in our country's socialist construction in the future.

Ulanhu said: Born during the second anticommunist upsurge stirred by the League on the day of its founding, in response to the call of the Chinese Communist Party, the League called for greater efforts to maintain the stand against Japan, put democratic spirit into practice, and strengthen unity at home. All these political stands played an important role in supporting as well as promoting the call put forward by our party. Following victory in the war of resistance against Japan, the broad masses of League members fought shoulder to shoulder with our party, and some sacrificed themselves in sharp struggles against the Kuomintang reactionaries. We express lofty respect to those comrades.

Ulanhu said: After the founding of new China, the China Democratic League has made conspicuous achievements in socialist revolution and construction under the

leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. During the 10 years of chaos at home, the broad masses of League members always supported the party leadership and the socialist road with firm determination, thus making beneficial contributions to the country and people under extremely difficult conditions. The party policies on United Front Work and intellectuals have gradually been implemented since the conclusion of the third plenary session of the eleventh CCP Central Committee. Our party and people praise the League members and their associates for their important work contributions. When the fourth congress of the Democratic League was held in 1979, it was pointed out that achieving the four modernizations was also a central task of the China Democratic League. Furthermore, in 1980, when the question of educational reform was put forward by our party, the Democratic League mobilized all members to engage in large-scale investigation and study, and submitted "several proposals concerning our country's educational work" to our party. "Our party has attached great importance to this document, because it is very valuable for educational reform.

Ulanhu said: Chairman Ye Jianying [of the NPC Standing Committee] and Chairman Hu Yaobang not too long ago further elaborated the policy concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland for the realization of China's peaceful reunification, and put forward a proposal on cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party for the third time. All this manifests the common aspiration of the people of all nationalities throughout the country. Since the China Democratic League and other democratic parties unanimously play a special individual role in this aspect, they will definitely be able to create a direct impetus for the development of this situation and the great cause of reunifying the Chinese nation.

Ulanhu said: Although we may encounter hardships of all descriptions along the road of advance, the future is bright and happy. Thanks to 2 years of readjustment, the superiority of our socialist system has been manifested and will continue to manifest itself in our country's economic construction. The Chinese Communist Party will, as always, closely cooperate with various democratic parties in line with the policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" to do an even better job in all fields of work. In our future struggle for building socialism, let us uphold the four fundamental principles, unite as one and wage a painstaking struggle, with one mind and one heart, to gradually build our country into a modern, powerful socialist state with high degrees of democracy and civilization.

Speaking at the celebration meeting, Chairman Shi Liang of the Central Committee of the China Democratic League, emphatically pointed out that our basic experience is to accept the leadership of the Communist Party and take the socialist road, and our conclusion and direction of advance is to hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought and build China into a modern, powerful socialist state under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

Shi Liang said: The 40-year history of our league reflects the tremendous development of the United Front policy, formulated by the Communist Party. Forty years ago the China Democratic League was a party of middle-of-the-roaders. The League today has become a political force, led by the Communist Party and serving socialism. This is a fundamental change.

Shi Liang pointed out: We are deeply inspired by the policy concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland for the realization of China's peaceful reunification as elaborated by Chairman Yi Jianying and Chairman Hu Yaobang. We are willing to make the utmost efforts to fulfill this great cause. Moreover, the China Democratic League is willing to work with the people in all walks of life throughout the country, including the patriotic intellectuals in Taiwan who support the reunification of our motherland, to strive for the reunification and prosperity of the motherland and for the development of our country's science and culture.

Shi Liang said: While attending a tea party given by our league in celebration of the 1980 new year, Comrade Hu Yaobang encouraged us by saying: All Democratic League members are intellectuals. It is important to make full use of our intelligence in helping the masses of people. We should dare to reflect the current situation, to air our opinions, to grasp what should be done, and to assist the Communist Party in correcting its shortcomings. What Comrade Hu Yaobang said illustrates the profound trust and loving care of the party for our league and the masses of intellectuals. We must fully understand the expectation of our party and conscientiously shoulder our political responsibility.

A speech was delivered by Hu Juewen, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee and chairman of the China Democratic National Construction Association. He said: As a political party with intellectuals as its main force, the China Democratic League has taken a patriotic, progressive and revolutionary road over the past 40 years under the party leadership. Comrades of the Democratic League have made great contributions to the democratic revolution, socialist revolution and socialist construction, adding a glorious chapter to the annals of the Chinese revolution with their own patriotic, progressive and revolutionary practices.

He added: The sixth plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee has opened a broad avenue for advance, whereas the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" adopted by the sixth plenary session has further pointed out the direction of our advance. Moreover, Premier Zhao Ziyang in his report on the work of government, which was delivered at the fourth session of the fifth NPC, has pointed out the principles and prospects for our country's economic construction. Under such an excellent situation, there are bright prospects for the broad masses of intellectuals who have not only scientific and cultural knowledge, but also possess strong patriotism, devotion and a sense of responsibility. In order to make full use of this golden opportunity of serving the state and people, we must unite even more closely around the party Central Committee, press forward in the face of difficulties, and work together to strive for greater economic prospects.

The meeting was presided over by Vice Chairman Hu Yuzhi of the China Democratic League. On behalf of the league's Central Committee, he called on all league members to uphold the four fundamental principles, emancipate their minds, unite as one, work still harder and contribute their wisdom and efforts to building a modern, powerful socialist state and fulfilling the great cause of returning Taiwan to the motherland for the realization of China's peaceful reunification under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

CSO: 4005/363

PARTY AND STATE

CHEN YI'S LETTER ON CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM

HK180933 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Dec 81 p 3

[Letter written by Comrade Chen Yi dated 4 October 1946 to the leading comrades of the 8th division--originally carried in JUNSHI XUESHU [MILITARY SCIENCE] No 12, 1981]

[Text] Editor's note: During the war of liberation, Comrade Chen Yi wrote a letter to the 8th division after suffering a defeat at Si County. Comrade Chen Yi did not reproach his subordinates but bore the responsibility on his own accord. In his letter he said, "I have never bowed to the enemy, but I often make self-criticism before our comrades and am willing to admit my faults no matter whether we are winning victories or suffering reverses, that is, defeats." It is undoubtedly helpful to read this letter again when we are now carrying forward the fine tradition of criticism and self-criticism. [End editor's note]

Comrades He, Ding, Wang and Liu (He Yixiang, division commander; Ding Qiusheng, political commissar; Wang Jiwen, deputy division commander; Liu Chun, director of the political department):

My two trips to the sub-bureau in the south to draw up plans for operations have been rather tiring. I was back working at the front command only on the 1st and 2d. Yesterday, Chief of Staff Song came and told me about the 8th division. He said that you were actively making preparation for war. When Political Commissar Ding came to Xuda Village last time, he also mentioned how you straightened out your thinking. Very good indeed! I feel quite relieved to hear this. At present, I am staying in the 7th division for 1 day. I meant to come to the 8th division too, but unfortunately I have to be back at once to meet with the central China field army in order to expedite our action. Therefore, I am sorry to say that I have to postpone my visit to the 8th division.

Our plans drawn up during my trip to the south have been approved by the Central Committee. They are as follows: The central China field army and the Shandong field army (These two field armies joined forces at the beginning of 1947 and were reorganized as the Eastern China field army.) shall keep clear of armies of the Guangxi faction and launch a sudden attack on the KMT central armies; keep clear of Huaiyin and Huailan and launch a sudden attack on Huaibei in order to strengthen the defense of Jiangsu and Shandong; avoid a frontal confrontation with the enemy and launch a sudden attack on the enemy's rear and its weak points; capture the Longhai railway to consolidate our fundamental strength and

then cross the river to launch an offensive. These are our plans to win victory. When our troops moved north between Shuyang and Suqian, the war situation began to be favorable to us. If the enemy had captured Shuyang and Suqian a few days earlier, the war situation would have been extremely unfavorable to us (Shandong would have been threatened and central China would have been surrounded). If the enemy had not captured Huaiyin and Huaian but had captured Xinan and Shuyang instead, it would have also given great difficulty to our troops because our supply line would have been cut off and Shandong would have been weakly defended. What the enemy did proved that the enemy was short of men and attempted to capture Huaiyin in order to make a show of strength. In fact, this move was not able to strangle us. When I was in Laian and Yugou, I worried much about it. At present, our troops are moving north and the central China field army has already moved north, the war situation is beginning to be in our favor. We can take the offensive or the defensive as we choose. We no longer have to worry about Shandong and the Huai-hai region is strongly defended. Consequently, the situation in central China is also guaranteed. If victory is won in the offensive in Huaibei, the overall situation will be changed.

During the fighting of the past 3 months, the central China field army has not been able to win continuous victories in Huaibei. It has not cut off the Jinpu railway, nor has it annihilated the enemy troops on the interior lines. Besides, five towns have been captured by the enemy. Our troops have retreated more often than advanced and many of our soldiers are tired and ill. We have proved definitely inferior to other fraternal troops such as those by Liu, Deng, Su and Chen Geng. As a result, some of our men feel disappointed and are not satisfied with the leadership. We must promptly talk to them and patiently bring them round. This phenomenon tells two things. Some feel disheartened because they do not see the situation of the whole country. They do not see aspects favorable for us to win victory. Our retreat from Huaiyin, Huaian and Chengde does not determine the victory of the war. The decisive factor is the growth of the effective strength. Over 20 divisions, nearly 300,000 troops, of Chiang Kai-shek have been wiped out. This is a fatal blow to them and has determined the defeat of Chiang's troops. In the future, Chiang Kai-shek may capture even more towns and cities but it is certain that more of Chiang's troops will be wiped out. By the time we launch an overall counterattack, Chiang Kai-shek will lose both his men and his ground and the war will be over at within a certain period of time. Only if we make all this clear to our men can we raise their morale and combat effectiveness. Another thing is dissatisfaction with and distrust of the leadership. This again tells two things. On the one hand, this is a good phenomenon and is a way of making self-criticism. The reason why we have not fought well in the past 3 months is not that our troops are not good, our divisions, brigades and regiments are not good, or the staff office of the field army is not good but that I, the commander, have made two mistakes. One was that we attacked a strong point first, that is, we should not have attacked Si County. Another was that we did not resolutely defend Huaiyin. If we had not attacked a strong point first, at least the 69th division and the 28th division (the KMT's reorganized 69th division and 28th division) would have been annihilated by us and our 8th division and 9th column would not have suffered such heavy losses or would have been repaid for their losses. If we had resolutely defended Huaiyin, the 7th division (the KMT's reorganized 7th division) would have possibly been wiped out by us and Chiang's troops would not have been able to boast. I should bear all

responsibility as a commander and admit this mistake to all commanders and fighters. Nevertheless, in the past 3 months, we have preserved the main strength of our army. The enemy has not been able to wipe out any of our platoons or squads. In the long course of a war, he who laughs last laughs best. We will have the chance to follow the example of our fraternal troops in wiping out the enemy. Therefore, we must realize our shortcomings and also see the basis for our victory. Only in this way can the whole army strive for victory together and not have doubts and dissatisfaction or distrust the leadership. Is there any army in the world that always wins? Is there any army that never retreats? For example, Stalin and his Red army might well be considered as being evervictorious. Yet they first retreated from Moscow and later retreated from Stalingrad. Therefore, the law of being evervictorious lies in being good at taking the offensive after making retreats. I hope that our comrades in the Shandong field army will agree to retreat under unfavorable circumstances and be good at charging bravely forward under favorable circumstances. Now it is time for us to charge fearlessly forward. We should concentrate our efforts on recapturing Huaibei and display our ability. Huaibei is the focus of the war situation. If we do not make our efforts to this end, we will make another mistake.

What we should do at present is: If the enemy crosses the river, we should meet them head-on; if the enemy does not cross the river, we should charge toward the west and attack the enemy's rear. If we can capture Gupi, Suining, Zaohe or Suqian, leaving no scope for the 74th division and the 7th army (the KMT Guangxi faction's main force) to display their ability and threatening Xuzhou, we will have won a great victory that can compensate past losses. This mainly depends on the brave struggle of the whole army.

Everything is related to crossing the river. The 8th division is requested to make better preparation for this. After crossing the river, we will attack the strongholds and the 8th division should display its special skill in this aspect. The 8th division has always been a first-rate division and its discipline is the best among our troops. No matter where it goes, it is praised by the people. I hope that it will continue to make its efforts in winning victories. I am sure that it will not let us down. Comrades, in times of difficulty, I never blame my subordinates or colleagues and never shirk my responsibility. That is why I never lose my confidence and believe that I can find some way out. I have never bowed to the enemy, but I often make self-criticism before our comrades and am willing to admit my faults no matter whether we are winning victories or suffering reverses, that is, defeats. In the past, inner-party comrades generally acknowledged that I was good at losing battles. What they said was correct. I am ready to prove once more the correctness of this assessment by turning something unfavorable into something favorable.

I have told the 7th division the same thing. Since I am not able to come, I now write to you instead. I hope that you will discuss what I have said and make good arrangements. I will come in a few days.

Salutations!

Chen Yi
4 October

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PARTY AND STATE

OLDER CADRES URGED TO SERVE STATE BY RETIRING

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Nov 81 p 5

[Article by Zuo Zhongping [1563 0112 1627]: "We Must Have Foresight Like Premier Zhou Did"]

[Text] In August of this year I retired from our army's office of deputy political commissar. As I retreated from the first front back to the third front, this constituted an important turning point in my life. On such an occasion, I could not help experiencing all sorts of feelings welling up in my heart and myriad thoughts passing through my mind.

In 1938, I began to participate in the work of the revolution with a lofty wish. Soon thereafter, I was transferred to the Zhou residence at 50 Zengjiayan in Chongqing to handle the job of accepting and dispatching documents. During those days when I served close by Comrade Zhou Enlai, I learned many things. Comrade Zhou Enlai's revolutionary spirit of racking his brains and tiring himself out for the sake of the revolution had a profound influence on me. The way Comrade Zhou Enlai looked after the growth of young cadres is still fresh in my memory even to this day.

On a late autumn evening, Comrade Zhou Enlai was just about ready to go to his office at Hongyanzui; as he saw me writing in my diary, he took it from me and started to glance through it. Upon finishing it, he cordially asked me: Why don't you write something for the newspapers? I bashfully replied: I don't know how to write. He immediately told me: In writing a diary, we must not only write about the events in our daily life but, even more importantly, we must write out our ideas and feelings every day. Then he told me how to write articles and wanted me to show him after I had finished writing them from then on. In looking after the growth of a young cadre like me while handling myriad matters daily in the midst of sharp and complicated struggles, what profound thinking, what foresight this venerated Vice Chairman Zhou was demonstrating!

This reminds me that when we fought battles in the south and in the north and braved untold dangers in struggling for state power in those days, could it be that we were doing so in order to become officials for life? Absolutely not! When an old cadre consciously vacates his office to let a young cadre get more substantial training in practice, this is not only a question of style but also a severe test of our revolutionary sense of responsibility and sense of

devotion. The party Central Committee's strategic decision in this regard embodies the fundamental interests of countless generations after us. This is not any single individual's concern; it is a question related to whether or not the revolutionary cause of the proletariat can continue. Every old cadre should follow the example of such a revolutionary of the older generation like Premier Zhou in demonstrating a broad mind and foresight by creating conditions for the growth of young cadres through practical deeds in order to advance the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Recently, I seriously studied the "Resolution Concerning Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State," passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech, from which I gained an even more profound understanding as to the great significance of having old cadres retreat to the second and third front. The revolutionary cause of the proletariat led by our party is not the cause of a just single generation but the cause of countless generations. This revolution cannot be accomplished by a single generation but must be continued by one generation after another. This requires old cadres like us to retreat to the second and third front in a planned way in order to vacate the first front for young people. This way of doing things is a sharply different matter from that of letting old cadres "stepping aside," as perpetrated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Natural laws are irresistible; revolutionary spirit is not equivalent to efficiency in work. During these past few years, I often felt that my endurance was hardly equal to my ambition at work, and that I should consider matters from the overall situation of the revolution. Many old cadres have been trained by the party through revolutionary struggles. Out of their genuine feeling for the party and the revolutionary cause, they often wish to exert themselves as much as possible at their present posts--to work for a few more years. This state of mind is altogether understandable. But we should see that, whether for the sake of our own physical and mental health or for the sake of the revolution, allowing able-bodied comrades to exert their talent for the revolution is far better than lingering in the forefront ourselves.

Some comrades say that without our posts we can no longer work for the revolution. I always feel that, apart from our posts, we can work for the people just the same. Most of us old cadres have gone through a half century or so of tortuous, complicated struggles; we have experienced successes and also lessons of failures, and our perception has been invariably profound. While we are still alive, if we can sum them up conscientiously and pass them on to posterity for reference, will this not also constitute a great contribution to the revolutionary cause? Besides, we can still do some work for which we feel physically capable. Today, my physical condition is still quite good. During these 2 months since I left my post, I still have not been able to keep work with the troops out of my mind. Hence, I have continued to participate in meetings, go to the unit to do some investigation and study, and offer consultation to the party committee. There are plenty of things going on around us. As long as we are willing to work, we can always take a hand, and the leaders and the masses will always welcome us.

The retirement of old cadres is something new in the history of our party. It is bound to traverse a course of gradual perfection. At the beginning, it is possible to experience irrationality with respect to arrangements, salaries, and

living standard guarantees and the like, or to encounter these or those kinds of problems. This makes it necessary for us old cadres to deal with them correctly. Countless past martyrs have given their lives for the motherland; we lucky survivors not only have seen new China but also have seen the motherland's construction of the four modernizations. We cannot make excessive demands on the state or on the party. The party has already given us the honor and salary we deserve. Can we gain this and then go on expecting that? We should have trust that the party and the people are doing their best to make ~~maximum~~ arrangements and take good care of old cadres. What is needed is for old cadres, on their part, to give scope to the pioneering spirit of the war years and, in the process during which this new retirement thing is being perfected, to master the initiative, consider less about private gain, think more about the overall situation of the revolution, correctly handle concrete problems such as destination, housing, car use, etc., and cheerfully leave their posts and prepare, insofar as possible, to do some more work for the revolution in their lifetime.

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CSO: 4005/247A

PARTY AND STATE

WEAPONS FOR BUILDING SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION STRESSED

Beijing LIAOWANG in Chinese No 7, 20 Sep 81 p 7

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Powerful Weapons for Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] Building a socialist spiritual civilization has already become an important task on the ideological front at present.

An advanced spiritual civilization is an important characteristic of a socialist society. The construction of our socialist modernization is the construction not only of an advanced material civilization but also of an advanced spiritual civilization.

Material civilization and spiritual civilization are mutually supplementary and complementary. A socialist material civilization is the foundation for building a socialist spiritual civilization, and a socialist spiritual civilization is in turn a great force for building a socialist spiritual civilization. It would be impossible to proceed smoothly with socialist economic construction while overlooking the role of a socialist spiritual civilization.

Building a socialist spiritual civilization means fostering socialist new people with communist ideals and the spirit of struggle, promoting adherence to the revolutionary stand and principles, nurturing lofty morals and sentiments, giving full play to the party's fine workstyle, and fostering discipline-observing and law-abiding habits, etc.

On these questions, people have already expressed many opinions.

But how are we to build our socialist spiritual civilization after all?

Building a socialist spiritual civilization depends mainly on strengthening propaganda and education on communist ideology and strengthening the ideological battlefield of socialism. And the most effective way for the various ideological battlefronts to have an ideology guided by Marxism is to launch criticism and self-criticism.

Facts tell us that a socialist spiritual civilization cannot spring forth spontaneously. Within our party and among the people, contradictions always exist between what is correct and what is incorrect, what is advanced and what

is backward. We can build a socialist spiritual civilization only by continuously solving these contradictions. We can also solve these internal contradictions solely by applying the only effective method--criticism and self-criticism. Criticism and self-criticism constitute precisely a powerful weapon for correcting various erroneous tendencies, resisting the erosion of the ideas of the exploitative classes and other nonproletarian classes, and building our socialist spiritual civilization. In the past, our party has continued to eliminate the influence of ideas of the exploitative classes and other nonproletarian classes by applying this weapon, and thereby it has succeeded in upholding the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, shaping a whole set of fine workstyles, and leaving us precious spiritual wealth. Today, although the exploitative classes no longer exist as classes, the influence of the ideas of these exploitative classes and other nonproletarian classes is still rather serious; the struggle on the ideological front will have to continue on a long-range basis. Under such circumstances, we need still further to take up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism and launch an active ideological struggle.

We should clearly see that the tasks we face on the ideological front are very serious and formidable. After 10 years of turmoil, our state has sustained not only great destruction materially and economically, but also serious injury spiritually. The perverse acts of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ruined all the fine traditions of our party and the morals, ideals and sentiments [our party] has fostered and established over the long years. After the smashing of the "gang of four," we broke through our country's closed-door, locked-up condition and restored our normal international intercourse, but in the process of importing advanced technologies from Western countries we have also drawn in certain rotten, wornout things of the bourgeoisie which have contaminated some feeble-minded people. In the meantime, our state has been precisely at a historical turning point, where the new has begun to replace the old and the old is being eliminated in favor of the new; drastic changes in the economy and other aspects have produced different reactions in various realms of our social and political life, and complex and complicated ideological contradictions and problems have existed among different kinds of people. All of this has brought us difficulty after another to our ideological and political work. After the efforts made by comrades throughout the party since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have scored great results on the ideological front. However, even to this very day three kinds of problems have still not fundamentally turned for the better; our party workstyle has not fundamentally turned for the better, nor have our social customs, nor has the situation concerning our social order and security. At present, trends such as erroneous leftist ideas that deviate from the party line, tendencies of liberalization that would cast off party leadership, and anarchism, extreme individualism, bureaucratism, departmentalism, violations of the law and disruptions of discipline, as well as the development of connections, knocking at back doors, and particularization, and so forth, still exist to certain degrees in our party or even in the whole society. Especially noteworthy are those tendencies of bourgeois liberalization that deviate from the socialist course and that deviate from party leadership. These erroneous ideological tendencies are seriously eroding the organic body of the party and poisoning the people's thinking. We must carry out a solemn struggle

against these erroneous ideas and tendencies by applying the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. It would be impossible to build our socialist spiritual civilization if we did not criticize and expose these erroneous and backward phenomena.

In building our socialist spiritual civilization, we especially need to promote self-criticism. This is because the building of a spiritual civilization has its own special laws. This is a refined and at the same time gigantic project of ideological construction. Work on such ideological construction depends mainly on our fine traditions for the necessary influence, on education for its development, on public opinion for its maintenance, and on the people's ideological consciousness for its consolidation. Therefore, the building of an advanced spiritual civilization requires a high degree of ideological consciousness. We advocate using the method of criticism to engender the people's consciousness, and we also advocate using the method of self-criticism to build and consolidate such consciousness. A socialist spiritual civilization cannot be built, however hard one might try, without such a high degree of consciousness and in the absence of such a steadfast ideological foundation. No crude, coercive, or simplistic methods would be beneficial to the building of a spiritual civilization. Our party has always had a fine tradition, which is that, as far as those who have made mistakes are concerned, we must in the first place carry out comradely criticism, enlighten them with reason, move them with care, and guide them by deeds, and in the second place we must enlighten them to calmly do some thinking about their own problems, sort out their own ideas, and consciously carry out self-criticism in order to improve their understanding and correct their mistakes. This is an important magic wand with which our party has carried out ideological construction. We should energetically revive this fine tradition of our party, correctly apply the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, and build our socialist spiritual civilization.

Today there is a noteworthy phenomenon which is none other than the spread of liberalism. Some people seem to be untouched by bad things that damage the people's interests, indifferent to words and deeds that violate the party line and the four basic principles, resigned to a laissez-faire attitude with respect to uncivilized and unethical conduct, and unmindful about their own mistakes or even irritated by other people's criticism, as if theirs were the "tiger's seat which cannot be touched." This evil tendency of liberalization is a salient indication of laxity and feebleness on the ideological front. We must overcome this state of laxity and feebleness and eliminate the liberal workstyle. Only in this way can we make criticism and self-criticism a powerful weapon for building our socialist spiritual civilization.

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PARTY AND STATE

CONFIDENCE, ENTHUSIASM URGED IN ALL UNDERTAKINGS

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Jin Sheng [0093 0524]: "Confidence and Enthusiasm"]

[Text] There is enthusiasm only when there is confidence, and only with enthusiasm can work be completed in an outstanding way. This is a principle that everybody knows.

Yet in real life, some comrades always lack confidence in our cause and have a particularly large number of questions on their mind: Can economic readjustment be carried out well? Can public order in society improve? Can unhealthy tendencies be corrected? And can the four modernizations be realized?

These comrades have all kinds of doubts because they lack a correct understanding of the situation and cannot clearly see the direction of advance, or because they do not understand the party's line, principles, and policies. This gives rise to pessimism [on their part], or too many temporary difficulties cause them to lose the courage to continue. As a result, they have all kinds of worries. They show no vigor and have insufficient enthusiasm.

In a recent talk, leading comrades of the Central Committee pointed out that we cannot do without confidence in each undertaking. Our undertakings have two major goals of struggle: to build a high degree of socialist material culture, and to build a high degree of socialist spiritual culture. We do have favorable conditions, and our future is good. This tells us that we must have full confidence in the socialist cause and the future of socialism. Only when we are filled with confidence can we rouse our enthusiasm to strive hard and struggle for them.

It is undeniable that engaging in the four modernizations and building the two kinds of culture are extremely arduous tasks. We still face many difficulties. For instance, the task of bringing order out of chaos has not been completed; our material conditions, knowledge, and experience in the construction of the four modernizations are still inadequate; the people's standard of living is still low; and many urgent problems need to be resolved. But more, we should recognize the favorable conditions. Just as is pointed out in the "Resolution Concerning Several Historical Questions of the Party Since the Founding of the State": "Looking at problems from the long-term point of view of historical

development, our party's mistakes and setbacks are in the end merely a temporary phenomenon. The tempering of our party and people thereby, the greater maturity of our backbone contingents formed by our party through a long period of struggle, the greater prominence of the superiority of our socialist system, and the rousing of the heart of the party, army, and people who demand the prosperity of the motherland are all decisive factors which will play a long-term role." Part of the speech given by Comrade Hu Yaobang at the conference commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lu Xun is quite helpful to our understanding of the situation. He said: "Regardless of the great number of problems left behind because of the many still unresolved mistakes our party made for many years, and regardless of the many kinds of difficulties that are blocking our path of advance and are still waiting to be overcome, the whole party, army, and people of all nationalities of the country increasingly believe that the line, policies and various basic measures determined by the party Central Committee in accordance with historical experience and the people's will are correct and highly effective. The goal of building our country into a modern, strong socialist state with a high degree of democracy and culture can certainly be realized.

We must earnestly study the "Resolution" and the spirit of the talks by leading comrades of the Central Committee in this regard, and we must deepen our understanding of the situation, the difficulties, and the future. Blind optimism and taking difficulties lightly are not favorable to our cause. An inability to recognize the present excellent situation and [to recognize] the favorable factors that play a decisive role, resulting in a loss of confidence in our advance, is also unfavorable to our cause.

Every revolutionary comrade should build this confidence: Our goal must be reached and can definitely be reached. Yet, having confidence and recognizing the goal is not the same as having reached it. We should, therefore, advocate this kind of spirit: First, we must encourage genuine enthusiasm, do our work well, and do it earnestly and responsibly. Never be sluggish, put things off, or haggle over trifles in handling matters. Second, we must emancipate the mind. We must be led by courage, dare to bring forth new ideas, and never refuse to do what the higher authorities have not instructed or what others have not done before. Third, we must have an indomitable spirit. As the saying goes: "Fear not losing a hundred battles; fear only being utterly disheartened." After suffering a setback, we are bound to be able to open up a new and triumphant situation by summing up the experience and drawing from the lesson.

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PARTY AND STATE

VETERAN CADRES URGED TO GIVE WAY TO YOUNGER SUCCESSORS

Tainjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Wen You [5113 0645]: "Heavy Burdens Create Iron Shoulders"]

[Text] The selection of cadres who have both ability and political integrity and who are in the prime of life to fill leading posts at various levels is an urgent strategic task before our whole party. Confronted with this strategic task, many veteran cadres of the party personally take part along with the party's organization departments and the masses in selecting and training young cadres, ardently and sincerely bringing them to various leading posts. At the same time, they themselves are shifted to a more "detached" position, whereby they can consider and study significant and long-term problems. This is a commendably fine style and conduct. Yet a minority of people are full of worries about the selection of young and middle-aged cadres, and even hesitate to move forward because of selfishness.

No doubt, the emphasis on careful selection of successors out of a concern for the revolutionary cause cannot be disputed. But while we must be cautious and play safe in handling this task, we must also be courageous. Otherwise, as circumstances change in time, it might give rise to the phenomenon of having no successors to our cause, or the old evil elements of the "gang of four" might seize the power of our leadership, which would bring about even greater losses to our revolutionary cause.

Some believe that young and middle-aged cadres are "young and cannot hold the line." This has some logic, but it is only one side of the matter, and we need also to look at the other side. Young people have culture and are full of vigor. Their minds are active and they are more receptive to new ideas. They can daily shoulder strenuous work and can go deep into the first line of production to make contact with the masses, investigate and study. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said in his speech on "The Present Situation and Task": "Some of our older comrades should have this consciousness. Do not underestimate young people, and do not always feel that they are not as good as we are. Actually, at what age did we do our work in the past? Did we not do great work when we were in our 20's?" Marx and Engels were in their 20's when they formulated the theory of scientific communism and led the "Communist League." Lenin was only 25 when he founded and led the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Comrade Mao Zedong was only 29 when he assumed the post of

director of organization of the party Central Committee in 1923. Comrade Liu Shaoqi was only 27 when he was elected deputy commissioner of the National Labor Union in 1925. Comrade Zhou Enlai was only 28 when he was secretary of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee. Many veteran cadres of our party, government and army and the leading groups on various fronts today were very young when they joined the leading groups in those years. Moreover, the majority of these comrades did a good job. It is clear from these facts that whether one can hold the line depends not on age but on ability and political integrity. Selecting young and middle-aged cadres to fill leading posts with the support, training and help of older comrades, with the trust of the broad masses of the people, and with the tempering of actual work will enable them to shoulder heavy burdens.

Some believe that young and middle-aged cadres "lack the tempering of actual work and have no experience." This is also an unnecessary worry. The four modernizations constitute a new undertaking before us. We have no readymade experience to copy from, but rely mainly on our search and creativeness in actual work. Work experience in leadership can be increased and enriched at leading posts and in actual work. If we promptly promote outstanding young and middle-aged cadres to leading posts, as determined by the masses through their recommendation and organized investigation, and put strenuous burdens on their shoulders, then after a period of tempering, and with the experience passed on by veteran cadres, their experience will gradually be enriched. It does no harm to ask ourselves: Were we confident in doing everything at the beginning? Did we have experience before we worked, or did we work and slowly accumulate experience? Indeed, experience comes from actual work. Only if the basic conditions of the cadres are suitable should we boldly give them the burdens of work and allow them to face the world and brave the storms through the practice of revolutionary struggle.

It is even more unacceptable for individual comrades who, out of selfishness, fear that the young and middle-aged cadres selected may occupy their "thrones." Liu Lanbo [0491 3482 3134], former minister of the Department of Electric Power, recommended to the Central Committee an outstanding middle-aged cadre for the post of minister, while he himself stepped down to become an adviser on the second line. Leading comrades of the Central Committee have praised him as an enlightened person with a breadth of vision, because what he considered was not personal gain or loss but the needs of the revolutionary cause. We believe that, if we only proceed from the standpoint of care and help young and middle-aged cadres to develop their strength and discard their shortcomings so that they may be tempered, the great, strategic task of selecting young and middle-aged cadres to fill leading posts can be accomplished successfully.

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PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

CHENGDU HOLDS IDEOLOGICAL FORUM--From 25 November - 1 December the Chengdu Municipal CCP Committee held a forum on the issue of the ideological front. Mi Jianshu, Municipal CCP Committee first secretary and (Li Xiangshan), Municipal CCP Committee second secretary, attended. (Xiao Jueren), Municipal CCP Committee secretary and director of the propaganda department of the Municipal CCP Committee, spoke. (Hu Maozhou), Municipal CCP Committee secretary, delivered the summing-up speech at the conclusion of the forum. The forum held that since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the ideological front in the municipality has seriously implemented the line, principles and policies of the party, adhered to the four basic principles and achieved relatively great results in literature, art, theory, education and propaganda. However, we must see that the trend of bourgeois liberalization still exists on the ideological front and in other spheres. The state of laxity and weakness really exists. It is essential to strengthen party leadership over the ideological front and to eliminate the state of laxity and weakness. All CCP Committees' first secretaries must personally grasp this work. [HK051005 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 1 Dec 81]

GANSU LOCAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS--The first session of the ninth Lanzhou Municipal People's Congress was held from 10 to 17 December. (Wang Junlang) was elected chairman of the standing committee of the Municipal People's Congress. (Xiao Dongjun), (Du Fangming), (Ren Zihe), (Ge Yifei), (Fang Juping), (Han Sheng), (Liang Mian), (Sun Zhaoping), (Liu Guangde) and (Wang Shengxi) were elected vice chairmen of the standing committee of the Municipal People's Congress. (Wu Xiuliang) was elected mayor of Lanzhou Municipality. (He Ying), (Wang Shihua), (Ren Zhenying), (Duan Junping), (Zhang Chunkang), (Ma Zhuxuan), (Duan Shumao) and (Hu Wanjun) were elected deputy mayors of Lanzhou Municipality. (Xue Rui) was elected president of the Municipal Intermediate People's Court. [SK190929 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 18 Dec 81]

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PRC WISHES TO TAKE PART IN TAIPEI SOFTBALL TOURNAMENT

HK180400 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 18 Dec 81 p 1

[Report: "China's Women's Softball Team Decides to Take Part in World Softball Championships in Taipei Next Year"]

[Text] "The Chinese women's softball team will take part in the fifth world women's softball championships to be held in Taipei from 1 to 11 June next year." Xia Lang, captain of the team, revealed this on his arrival in Hong Kong yesterday noon.

The Chinese women's softball team arrived in Hong Kong at noon yesterday to take part in the Hong Kong international women's softball invitation tournament starting tomorrow. The team captain, Xia Lang, made known this decision of the team at a press conference.

Xia Lang declared, Porter, secretary of the International Softball Federation, talked to the Chinese Softball Federation about next year's championships when he visited Beijing in May this year. He invited the Chinese women's team to take part in the championships. He also stated that the Taipei Softball Federation would abide by the three reform principles laid down by the International Olympic Committee; the host region, Taiwan, will use the title, flag and anthem of the Taipei, China, Softball Federation.

Xia Lang pointed out, since the International Softball Federation has made this promise, the Chinese team sent in its name last month to take part in the women's softball championships, and will shortly mail the list of team members to the federation. Xia Lang stated, China's softball standards are gradually rising, and taking part in a contest of international standard provides a very good chance to learn and exchange experiences. On the other hand, this will also be able to stimulate the exchange of ball skills between both sides of the Taiwan Strait, and the Taiwan compatriots will be able to see how softball has developed in the motherland.

Xia Lang also stated, China and Taipei are both members of the International Softball Federation. If Taipei refuses to allow China to take part, they will be going against the principles of the International Olympic Committee and the International Softball Federation. The International Softball Federation will hold a meeting of members in due course, which might move the championships to another venue or postpone them.

Xia Lang pointed out in conclusion, Taipei has not yet publicly expressed its attitude on this matter. However, China's sportsmen have the right and duty to take part in any contest on their own soil. Therefore, it is hoped that the Taipei Softball Federation will provide conditions for China to take part in the fifth international women's softball championships.

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